

**AN EVALUATION OF ~~THE~~ COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY  
SCHOOLS IN BOTSWANA WITH ~~PARTICULAR EMPHASIS ON~~  
*Reference to* DECENTRALIZATION AND COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION**

**Fazlur Rehman Moorad**

**Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement  
of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**University of London Institute of Education  
October, 1989**



## **ABSTRACT**

The thesis is an evaluation of Community Junior Secondary Schools in Botswana with a particular focus on decentralization and community participation. The key research problem is to examine the meaning of community schooling in Botswana in relation to the partnership venture between the government and communities. There are five aspects linked to the central problem and they are as follows:-

- i) To examine the meaning of community schooling in the context of Botswana from the point of view of the different interest groups such as the government, teachers, headmasters/headmistresses, parents, school managers and students.
- ii) To establish the links between the schools and their communities in terms of shared resources, social services and leadership roles.
- iii) To examine the relevance of the curriculum and assess the views of the different groups involved in its development, implementation and evaluation.
- iv) To assess the role of teachers both in the community schools as well as in community development activities.
- v) To determine the role of community participation in the finance and management of schools.

An eclectic approach combining Phenomenology and Illuminative evaluation was used in the collection of data. From the review of international literature, several characteristics of the 'ideal-type' community school emerge. These in turn are used to help assess the research objectives noted above to see how far they reflect the 'ideal-type' community school construct.

The data analysis reveals that there is a mismatch between 'ideal-type' construct and the Community Junior Secondary Schools. First, there are varied views on the definition of community schools. For instance, teachers see these

schools as conventional secondary schools whilst parents view them as schools serving the interests of specific communities only.

Second, the Community Junior Secondary Schools are not centrally located and are not very involved in the development activities of their respective communities. There is also not much by way of reciprocation via the sharing of resources between the schools and their communities. Third, the curriculum is more academic oriented and not very relevant to the needs of the respective communities. Resources used in the Technical Studies Course i.e. both tools and materials are not those easily available in the local environment. Fourth, the role of teachers is limited to teaching and other school related activities with minimal input in community development work. Fifth, the role of community finance in schools is diminishing and as the study shows, most of the communities have not been able to build the required number of staff houses. The Boards of Governors have lost control to the government in the decision-making of the schools on important issues such as student enrolments, school heads and staff appointments and in determining and charging school fees.

The present involvement of government in the Community Junior Secondary Schools programme has temporarily lulled community initiatives in school building and finance. It is inevitable that communities will soon build their own schools to meet the increase in demand at various levels particularly where the government shows less concern. The government has some important lessons to learn from the C.J.S.S. and should plan ahead to avoid similar problems. In the final analysis, community support for education in general will be indispensable for a long time to come.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

I am indebted to Dr Jon Lauglo, my supervisor, whose devotion, relentless attention, guidance and valuable advice at all times has made the completion of this thesis possible.

I am especially grateful to Professor Angela Little for her warm, friendly advice and in particular for helping me with the final revision of my thesis. My sincere thanks and appreciation to Dr Kevin Shillington for reading through an earlier draft and providing me with valuable advice, tips and encouragement. To Dr Ulla Kann and Dr Patrick Molutsi, a special note of thanks for the sound advice and intellectual insights both during my fieldwork and writing up stages.

I am grateful to Dr Linda Ankrah Dove, Dr Kevin Lillis and Dr Mark Bray for some of the valuable sources of documentation.

I also wish to thank the British Council for the financial support during the first part of my studies and to the University of Botswana who have been financing me during the latter part, as well as for the fieldwork undertaken in Botswana.

I appreciate very much the friendship and support of colleagues and staff at the Institute; the Student's Union; The Botswana High Commission — Mr Mmoshe Mookodi in particular; and my brother-in-law Feroz who has been living with me for the past two years.

To all the staff, students, school managers, headmasters/headmistresses, education officers, parents and all those involved in the Community Junior Secondary Schools and many other persons, I am most grateful for all their help and cooperation which made it possible for me to carry out the research. A special thank you to Rafeek Khan for the use of his vehicle during the field work.

To my parents, parents-in-law, brothers and family, for their forbearance, support, encouragement and prayers, I offer my deepest appreciation.

My deepest debt of gratitude is to my wife Bilquis, for putting up with the ups and downs of the writing of this thesis and the long periods of separation. Most importantly, for the sustained love, understanding and devotion I offer my greatest appreciation and eternal love.



## **DEDICATION**

**Bis Mil Lah Hir— Rahman Nir — Raheem.**

**In The Name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful.**

**All praise is due to Allah alone.**

**This thesis is dedicated to**

**To all the well wishers, family, friends and relatives.**

**To Bilquis.**

**To my parents.**

**To my parents-in-law.**

## **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

	<b><u>Page</u></b>
Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Dedication	iv
Abbreviations	xvi
<b>GENERAL INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
OUTLINE OF CHAPTER ONE	3
OUTLINE OF CHAPTER TWO	3
OUTLINE OF CHAPTER THREE	4
OUTLINE OF CHAPTER FOUR	4
OUTLINE OF CHAPTER FIVE	4
OUTLINE OF CHAPTER SIX	5
OUTLINE OF CHAPTER SEVEN	5
OUTLINE OF CHAPTER EIGHT	5
OUTLINE OF CHAPTER NINE	6
 <b>CHAPTER ONE: BOTSWANA—CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND</b>	 <b>7</b>
1.0.0 INTRODUCTION	7
1.1.0 INDEPENDENCE	7
1.2.0 GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION AND SIZE	8
1.3.0 TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE	8
1.4.0 THE POLITICAL SITUATION	10
1.5.0 THE POPULATION	11
1.5.1 Distribution and Characteristics	11
1.5.2 Settlement Patterns	12
1.6.0 THE ECONOMY	13

1.7.0	THE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY	15
1.8.0	THE EDUCATION SYSTEM	17
1.8.1	Introduction and Expansion: Pre-Independence and Early Post-Independence Era	17
1.8.2	The Organization Structure of Education	19
1.8.3	The National Commission on Education	19
1.8.4	Primary Education: Focus on Problems and Recommendations by the Commission on Education	20
1.8.5	Secondary Education: Structure, Aims and Objectives	23
1.8.6	Secondary Education: Overview of Problems and Recommendations by the N.C.E.	25
1.9.0	CONCLUSION	27
	<b>CHAPTER TWO: PROBLEM CONCEPTUALIZATION</b>	<b>30</b>
2.0.0	INTRODUCTION	30
2.1.0	Conceptual Framework	30
2.1.1	Decentralized Decision-Making	30
2.1.2	Community Financing of Schools	34
2.2.0	INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE ON COMMUNITY SCHOOLING	36
2.2.1	Community Schooling: Terms and Definitions	36
2.2.2	The Links between Communities and Schools	39
2.2.3	The Community School Curriculum	42
2.2.4	The Role of Teachers in Schools and in Community Development	44
2.2.5	The Finance and Management of Community Schools	47
2.2.5.1	Centralization/Decentralization	48
2.2.5.2	Problems with Centralization	48
2.2.5.3	Decentralization	49
2.2.5.4	Current Interest in Decentralization	50

2.2.5.5	Forms of Decentralization	52
2.2.6	Educational Management as a Decentralization Activity	53
2.2.7	School Financing and Decentralization	56
2.3.0	THE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS: CURRENT INTERESTS	58
2.4.0	TOWARDS AN IDEAL-TYPICAL COMMUNITY SCHOOL	58
2.5.0	STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	59
2.5.1	The Research Objectives	60
2.6.0	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	61
2.7.0	JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY	63
2.8.0	DEFINITION OF TERMS	64
2.9.0	SUMMARY	65
<b>CHAPTER THREE:</b>	<b>DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA: FOCUS ON COMMUNITY INITIATIVES</b>	<b>68</b>
3.0.0	INTRODUCTION	68
3.1.0	THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE ERA	68
3.1.1	Traditional Forms of Education	68
3.1.2	Introduction of Western Education	69
3.2.0	THE COLONIAL ERA	71
3.2.1	The Role of the Colonial Government	71
3.2.2	The Role of Religious Organisations	75
3.3.3.	The Role of Local Communities	78
3.3.3.1	Primary Education	79
3.3.3.2	Secondary Education	82
3.4.0	THE BRIGADES MOVEMENT	85
3.5.0	THE INDEPENDENCE AND POST INDEPENDENCE ERA	86

3.5.1	Matsha Community College	88
3.5.2	Tutume McConnel College	88
3.6.0	THE POST INDEPENDENCE ERA: THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY	89
3.6.1	Comparison between the Private Self-Help Schools and Pre-Independence Tribal School Committee Schools	91
3.6.2	Government and Government Aided Schools Vs. Private Self-Help Schools	93
3.7.0	THE PARTNERSHIP VENTURE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITIES: COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS	94
3.8.0	CONCLUSION	95
	<b>CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODS</b>	98
4.0.0	INTRODUCTION	98
4.1.0	THE RATIONALE FOR RESEARCH METHODS	98
4.2.0	DEFINITIONS OF EVALUATION	99
4.3.0	OVERVIEW OF RELEVANT EDUCATIONAL APPROACHES	100
4.3.1	Positivism Vs. Phenomenology	100
4.4.0	EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION	102
4.4.1	The Classical Paradigm	102
4.4.2	Illuminative Evaluation	103
4.4.2.1	Illuminative Evaluation: Research Instruments	105
4.4.2.2	Critique of the Illuminative Evaluation Approach	106
4.5.0	TOWARDS AN ECLECTIC APPROACH	107
4.6.0	THE RESEARCH POPULATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES	109
4.7.0	THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS	111
4.8.0	QUESTIONNAIRE PRE-TESTING	113

4.9.0	FIELD WORK EXPERIENCE	114
4.10.0	CONCLUSION	115
<b>CHAPTER FIVE:</b>	<b>COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY</b>	<b>117</b>
	<b>SCHOOLS: COMMUNITY SCHOOLS OR</b>	
	<b>CONVENTIONAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS</b>	
5.0.0	INTRODUCTION	117
5.1.0	THE MEANING OF COMMUNITY SCHOOLING: VIEWS OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS INVOLVED	117
5.1.1	The Government's View	117
5.1.2	The Parents' Views on C.J.S.S.	122
5.1.3	The Students' Views	126
5.1.4	Teachers' Views	127
5.1.5	The Boards of Governors' Views	133
5.1.6	The Headmasters'/Headmistresses' Views	135
5.2.0	CONCLUSION	139
<b>CHAPTER SIX:</b>	<b>LINKS BETWEEN SCHOOLS AND</b>	<b>139</b>
	<b>COMMUNITIES</b>	
<b><u>PART A</u></b>		
6.0.0	INTRODUCTION	139
6.1.0	SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAMES OF SCHOOLS	139
6.2.0	SCHOOL LOCATION AND FACILITIES	141
6.2.1	The School Site	141
6.2.2	The Buildings and Other Facilities	145
6.3.0	RECRUITMENT OF STUDENTS	149
6.4.0	BOARDING VS. DAY SCHOOLS	153
<b><u>PART B</u></b>		
6.5.0	SERVICES TO AND OF THE COMMUNITY	157

6.5.1	Shared Facilities	158
6.5.2	Providing Community Leadership	160
6.5.3	Social Services	161
6.5.4	Other Ways of Strengthening School and Community Links	163
6.6.0	CONCLUSION	164
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN:</b>	<b>THE CHALLENGE OF THE CURRICULUM AND THE ROLE OF TEACHERS FOR THE C.J.S.S.</b>	<b>167</b>
7.0.0	INTRODUCTION	167
7.1.0	BACKGROUND TO EDUCATIONAL REFORMS FOR THE C.J.S.S.	167
7.1.1	The New Nine Year Programme: A Focus on the C.J.S.S. — Policy Implications	169
7.1.2	The Cammaerts Report: Plans for the Take Off on the New Nine Year Programme	171
7.2.0	THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW CURRICULUM: FOCUS ON KEY CONTRIBUTORS	172
7.2.1	The Role of Teachers in the New Curriculum	173
7.2.2	The Role of Teachers in Community Development	177
7.2.3	The Role of the Community in the Curriculum	179
7.2.4	The Role of Headmasters/Headmistresses	181
7.3.0	CHANGES IN THE CURRICULUM: THE TEACHERS' VIEWS	182
7.4.0	THE TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR C.J.S.S. — FOCUS ON THE MOLEPOLOLE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION	186
7.5.0	THE JUNIOR SECONDARY EDUCATION PROJECT (J.S.E.I.P)	188
7.6.0	QUANTITY VS. QUALITY	190
7.7.0	CONCLUSION	192

<b>CHAPTER EIGHT: COMMUNITY FINANCING AND MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS: EDUCATIONAL DECENTRALIZATION?</b>	<b>199</b>
8.0.0 INTRODUCTION	199
<b><u>PART I</u></b>	
8.1.0 THE MANAGEMENT OF C.J.S.S.	199
8.1.1 Composition of Boards of Governors (B.O.G.S)	200
8.1.2 Occupations of B.O.G. Members	201
8.1.3 Levels of Education of B.O.G. Members	204
8.1.4 Age Levels of B.O.G. Members	206
8.1.5 Sex Gender of B.O.G. Members	207
8.1.6 How are B.O.G. Members Chosen	208
8.1.7 Functions of the B.O.G.	210
8.1.8 The Decision-Making Process	213
<b><u>PART II</u></b>	
8.2.0 ISSUES IN COMMUNITY FINANCING: THE CASE OF C.J.S.S.	215
8.2.1 Types of 'Community'	216
8.2.2 Basis for Community Support	217
8.2.3 Types of Community Contributions	218
8.2.4 The School Feeding Programme	219
8.2.5 Recurrent Expenditures of C.J.S.S.	220
<b><u>PART III</u></b>	
8.3.0 DISTRICT COUNCILS AND DECENTRALIZATION	222
8.3.1 Tribal Administration	222
8.3.2 District Councils and Primary Schools	223
8.4.0 CONCLUSION	225



<b>CHAPTER NINE: CONCLUSION</b>	<b>228</b>
9.0.0 INTRODUCTION	228
9.1.0 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	228
9.2.0 THE 'IDEAL-TYPE' COMMUNITY SCHOOL: MAIN CHARACTERISTICS	229
9.3.0 THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES: AN OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS	230
9.3.1 The Meaning of Community Schooling	230
9.3.2 The Links between the Schools and their Communities	233
9.3.2.1 The Internal Context	234
9.3.2.2 The External Context	236
9.3.3 Curriculum Relevance	237
9.3.3.1 Government Policy	238
9.3.3.2 The Role of Teachers	238
9.3.3.3 The Role of the Community	239
9.3.3.4 The New Curriculum	239
9.3.4 The Role of Teachers in the C.J.S.S. and in Community Development	240
9.3.4.1 The Role of Teachers in the C.J.S.S.	241
9.3.4.2 Teacher Training for C.J.S.S.	241
9.3.5 Community Finance and Management	242
9.3.5.1 The Role of Community Financing	242
9.4.0 SYNTHESIS AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE IDEAL-TYPE COMMUNITY SCHOOL IN BOTSWANA	246
9.5.0 TOWARDS THE FUTURE	248
9.5.1 Introduction	248
9.5.2 The Meaning of Community Schooling	249
9.5.3 The Relevance of the Curriculum and the Links Between the School and the Community	251

9.5.4 Community Financing and Management	256
9.5.5 The Future of Community Initiatives	258
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>260</b>

## **APPENDICES**

- 1 BOTSWANA A SUCCESS STORY?
- 2 BOTSWANA: RAINFALL PATTERN
- 3 BOTSWANA: VEGETATION
- 4(a) BOTSWANA: AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF POPULATION
- 4(b) BOTSWANA: EDUCATION PYRAMID —  
PRIMARY EDUCATION
- 5 BOTSWANA: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION
- 6 TEACHER EDUCATION MODELS: "RURALE ANIMATEUR" AND  
"COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT"
- 7 TRIBAL SCHOOL COMMITTEES CONSITUTION
- 8 TRIBAL SCHOOL LIST OF TEACHER QUALIFICATIONS
- 9 PROTOTYPES OF CURRICULUM EVALUATION
- 10 POSITIVISM VS. PHENOMENOLOGY
- 11 SPECIMEN QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS
- 12 SPECIMEN QUESTIONNAIRE FOR  
HEADMASTERS/HEADMISTRESSES
- 13 SPECIMEN QUESTIONNAIRES FOR SCHOOL MANAGERS/  
CHAIRPERSONS OF SCHOOL BOARD OF GOVERNORS
- 14 THE INTERMEDIATE NETWORK (COMMUNITY JUNIOR  
SECONDARY SCHOOLS)
- 15 LOCATION OF SCHOOLS
- 16(a) KGOTLA: PHOTOGRAPH
- 16(b) PHUTADIKOBO: PHOTOGRAPH OF EARLY COMMUNITY  
SCHOOL
- 17 ISSUES IN THE EXPANSION OF C.J.S.S. RELATING TO  
SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY SIZE
- 18 SECONDARY SCHOOL TIMETABLE
- 19 PROPOSED TIMETABLE FOR NEW DAY SCHOOLS
- 20 BOTSWANA DAILY NEWS: CLIPPINGS OF COMMUNITY  
CONTRIBUTIONS FOR SCHOOLS

## **MAPS**

- 1 MAP OF BOTSWANA
- 2 MAP OF AFRICA

## **FIGURES AND CHARTS**

- 1 MAP OF BOTSWANA
- 2 ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
- 3 SUMMARY TABLE SHOWING RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND SOURCES OF EVIDENCE
- 4 PHOTOGRAPH OF MATSHA COMMUNITY COLLEGE
- 5 PHOTOGRAPHS OF NEW COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS
- 6 PHOTOGRAPHS OF OLD PRIVATE SCHOOLS

## **PHOTOGRAPHS**

- 1 KGOTLA
- 2 PHUTADIKOBO: EARLY COMMUNITY SCHOOL
- 3 NEW C.J.S.S.
- 4 PHOTOGRAPH OF MATSHA COMMUNITY COLLEGE
- 5 OLD PRIVATE SELF-HELP SCHOOL

## **TABLES**

- 1.1 PROJECTED SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENTS
- 3.1 PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENTS SHOWING DROP-OUTS AT EACH PROGRESSIVE STANDARD FOR BOTSWANA CHILDREN (1958)
- 3.2 GROWTH OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN BOTSWANA 1976-1985
- 3.3 NATIONAL RESULTS : SUMMARY OF J.C. EXAM RESULTS

- 4.1 COMPARISON BETWEEN POSITIVISM AND PHENOMENOLOGY
- 4.2 DETAILS OF MAILED QUESTIONNAIRES
- 5.1 TEACHERS' DEFINITIONS OF COMMUNITY SCHOOLING
- 5.2 TEACHERS' VIEWS ON COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS
- 6.1 SERVICES AVAILABLE IN C.J.S.S. JAN' 1986
- 6.2 TRENDS IN ENROLMENT PATTERNS OF C.J.S.S.
- 7.1 ROLE PLAYED BY TEACHERS IN THE CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT PROCESS
- 7.2 TEACHERS' VIEWS ON HOW THEY WOULD CONTRIBUTE IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IF GIVEN THE CHANCE
- 7.3 ACTIVITIES THAT TEACHERS ARE INVOLVED IN APART FROM TEACHING
- 7.4 ROLE OF HEADMASTERS IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT
- 7.5 TEACHERS' VIEWS ON THEIR TRAINING AND WHETHER IT PREPARED THEM TO COPE WITH CURRICULUM CHANGES
- 8.1 OCCUPATIONS OF MEMBERS OF BOARDS OF GOVERNORS
- 8.2 LEVELS OF EDUCATION OF B.O.G. MEMBERS
- 8.3 AGE LEVELS OF B.O.G. MEMBERS
- 8.4 GENDER OF B.O.G. MEMBERS
- 8.5 THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS
- 8.6 PRIMARY SCHOOLS: SHORTAGES OF FACILITIES

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

N.D.P.	National Development Plan.
N.C.E.	National Commission on Education.
B.D.P.	Botswana Democractic Party.
C.J.S.S.	Community Junior Secondary Schools.
B.O.G.	Board of Governors.
D.S.E.	Diploma in Secondary Education.
C.O.S.C.	Cambridge Overseas School Certificate.
U.P.E.	Universal Primary Education.
B.P.	Bechuanaland Protectorate.
T.S.C.	Tribal School Committee.
P.S.L.E.	Primary School Leaving Exam.
J.S.E.I.P.	Junior Secondary Education Improvement Project.
P.E.I.P.	Primary Education Improvement Project.
C.E.O.	Chief Education Officer.
E.O.	Education Officer.
M.O.E.	Ministry of Education.
V.D.C.	Village Development Committee.
D.D.C.	District Development Committee.
P.T.A.	Parents Teachers Association.
C.D.U.	Curriculum Development Unit.
M.C.E.	Molepolole College of Education.

## **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

### **GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

The Botswana Government has recently embarked on a new policy to achieve universalization of junior secondary education i.e. nine years basic education for all by the mid 1990's. It is intended that this goal will be achieved through a joint partnership venture between the government and communities in the financing, building and managing of schools. These schools are known as Community Junior Secondary Schools.

The key research problem is to understand and describe the meaning of community schooling in Botswana in relation to the partnership venture between the government and the communities. This central problem of the thesis has five research objectives that are described below:

- (i) To describe and explain the meaning of community schooling in Botswana from the points of view of parents, teachers, students, members of the school boards and the government.
- (ii) To examine the links which have been established between the community schools and their respective communities.
- (iii) To examine the relevance of the curriculum of the Community Junior Secondary Schools in relation to the needs of the communities.
- (iv) To assess the role of the teachers both in the community schools and in community development work.
- (v) To examine the role of communities in school finance and management.

From the review of international literature, several characteristics of the 'ideal-type' of community school emerge. These in turn are used to help assess the research objectives stated above.

Community participation in the overall development of education has been emphasized both by the Botswana Government and other governments as

well as international organizations such as Unesco and the World Bank. Decision-making at the local level is one aspect of community participation and also demonstrates some form of decentralized activity. However, the concept of decentralization can be vague and its implementation does not always increase effectiveness, administrative efficiency or local participation in education.

There may also be a mismatch between planning and participation because the concept of participation carries with it a latent threat to the state and as a result, the central bureaucrats wish to maintain control over decision-making. This can result in less than enthusiastic "participation" at the local level.

The search for identifying appropriate alternative sources of both material and financial support is crucial for those countries experiencing acute shortages in fiscal capacity to meet the growth in demand for educational services. This has led to a resurgence of interest in community participation as a way of providing resources for education. However, local financing of education may not necessarily lead to a reduction of disparities and may be difficult to sustain over a long period of time.

The idea that the school and community being more integrated can establish stronger links through for example the sharing of resources or through the development of curricula more relevant to the needs of the community, has been advocated for a long time by international organizations such as Unesco and the I.L.O. But the success of a good and compatible relationship between the school and its community will also depend on whether clear policies exist at both central and local level to encourage such links and on whether the concerned parties find such objectives both desirable and acceptable.

Botswana offers a good case study for examining these issues as the country has recently evolved a system of partnership between government and communities in the development and provision of secondary education. An assessment of the success and effectiveness of this arrangement and the acceptability of this partnership venture provides the overall focus of this study.



The thesis is divided into nine chapters which are as follows:-

#### Chapter One:

The contextual background chapter helps to set the study in its broad social, economic, political and educational context. It focusses first on the geographical and physical aspects of Botswana looking at topography, climate, location and size. Second, the political situation is looked at. Third, it looks at the population distribution and characteristics. Fourth the settlement patterns and the economic situation are discussed. Fifth, the development strategy is outlined highlighting the national principles behind the development philosophy. Sixth, an overview of the educational system is provided noting in particular the origins of Western education, the trends in primary and secondary education since independence, the organizational structure of the Ministry of Education and the National Commission on Education. In the conclusion section, the main contextual features that will be the subject of the thesis are described.

#### Chapter Two:

This chapter is the problem conceptualization chapter and begins by examining the importance of community participation in schools. An international literature review on community schooling provides us with several characteristics that depict the 'ideal-type' community school. The central problem and its five objectives have already been noted above. These objectives which look at various aspects of community schools in Botswana namely its meaning, links with the respective communities, curriculum relevance, role of teachers in the schools and community development, the role of the communities in school finance and management are individually assessed in later chapters in the light of the 'ideal-type' construct.

### Chapter Three:

This chapter focusses on community initiatives in the development of education. It begins by noting the traditional forms of education that existed in the pre-independence and post-independence era prior to the introduction of Western education. Second, the origins of Western education are looked at and in particular the role of missionaries, churches and tribal initiatives are examined. Third, the role of communities in the post independence era leading up to the present times is also looked at.

### Chapter Four:

This chapter describes the methods used for collecting and analysing the data in the study on community schooling in Botswana. First, a few definitions of evaluation are looked at. Second, an overview of Phenomenology and Positivism, the two main perspectives for research in the social sciences is provided. Third, educational evaluation models i.e. the classical-paradigm and the Illuminative model are examined. Fourth, the advantages and disadvantages of these models are looked at in order to help choose a pragmatic approach best suited for the study. Fifth, the research instruments, and the research population are described. In the final part, the procedures followed in collecting data in the field together with the advantages and disadvantages of the research methods used, are noted.

### Chapter Five:

This chapter addresses the first research objective which is to examine the meaning of community schooling in the context of Botswana. In particular, the chapter examines the compatibility between what the government has set out to do and what the communities want. There is also an examination of inequality between community schools i.e. to see if they are the same throughout the

country in terms of inputs such as trained teachers, school buildings, resource materials, and the level of intake of the students.

#### Chapter Six:

This chapter addresses the second research objective which seeks to establish the links between the community schools and their communities. In particular the sharing of resources, social services, leadership roles and development projects are looked at.

#### Chapter Seven:

In this chapter the third objective which is to examine the relevance of the curriculum in the community schools is addressed. The gap in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools is looked at. The chapter also seeks to show if all schools offer the same subjects and whether differences (if they exist) in subject offerings makes some schools more favourable than others. The view of parents, teachers, students, teachers, school heads and other concerned groups on the new curriculum and their roles in the development, implementation and evaluation of the curriculum is closely examined.

#### Chapter Eight:

In this chapter the fourth and fifth research objectives are looked at. The fourth objective examines the role of teachers both in the schools as well as their respective communities. There is also a focus on the compatibility between the teacher training programme and the curriculum of the community schools.

The fifth research objective seeks to determine the role played by communities in school finance and management. The potential both in the short and long terms of community involvement in terms of resources and skills is also addressed. In particular the role and characteristics of the members of the Boards of Governors in the management of the community schools is assessed

namely in terms of their sex gender, age, education levels and occupation The data is compared to data on studies in the Harambee Schools in Kenya. Insights of the role of school boards in Papua New Guinea are also provided.

#### Chapter Nine:

The concluding chapter provides an overview of the main findings and analysis in the thesis. First, the research problem together with its five related objectives is stated. Second, the characteristics of the 'ideal-type' construct of the community school are also listed. Third each of the five research objectives is looked at separately noting the main findings, analysis and assessment. Fourth, a synthesis and reconstruction of the 'ideal-type' community school is attempted on the basis of the findings rather than what ought to be.

Finally, the chapter ends with a section on the future of the Community Junior Secondary Schools and the partnership venture. There is also a brief note on some theoretical considerations.

# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **BOTSWANA - CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND**

### **1.00 INTRODUCTION**

The thesis sets out to examine the meaning of community schooling in Botswana. In order to explore this, it is necessary to set the study in its broad social, economic, political and educational context in the following ways: the first section will look at the geographical and physical aspects of Botswana namely its location, size, topography and climate. The second section attempts to explain briefly the political situation. The third will examine the population distribution and its characteristics.

In the fourth section, the settlement patterns are examined. Fifth the economic situation is discussed with particular emphasis on factors that have contributed to the overall economic development as well as the problems that Botswana's economy faces. Sixth, the national development strategy is outlined highlighting the national principles behind the development philosophy. The seventh section, provides a broad overview of the education system noting in particular, the origins of Western education; trends in the education development strategy since independence, the organization structure of the Ministry of Education, the National Commission on Education, the aims, objectives and trends in both primary and secondary education. In the concluding section the main contextual features that have implications for the subject of the thesis — community schooling in Botswana — will be drawn together.

#### **1.1.0 INDEPENDENCE**

The Republic of Botswana attained independence on the 30th September 1966. Prior to this, the country was a British protectorate for eighty years and was called Bechuanaland Protectorate. It was given self-government in 1965 in preparation for independence the following year. Since independence,

Botswana's overall development has been hailed by many as a 'success story' (Simon, 1984, The Plain Truth September, 1987 - see Appendix 1); (see also "A Special Report by the Observer: Botswana— Africa's Success Story", March 1989). In particular, Simon (1984) and Kann (1984) note the rapid growth of education provision and expansion at both the primary and secondary levels respectively.

### **1.2.0 GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION AND SIZE**

Botswana is a landlocked country in Southern Africa. It lies between latitudes 17° and 27° south and longitudes 20° and 30° east. The mean altitude is about 1000 meters above sea level. The total land area is 582,000 km<sup>2</sup> which is about the size of France, Kenya or the State of Texas. It shares borders with Namibia, to the west; Zambia and Zimbabwe to the north-east and South Africa to the south and south-east (see Figure 1.).

### **1.3.0 TOPOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE**

Botswana lies at the centre of the Southern African Plateau. It has vast, undulating, monotonous horizons with the occasional outcrop of hills. A large part of the country i.e. 70% is semi-arid covered by Kalahari sands, thornbush and grasslands.

The climate is mainly subtropical though it ranges from semi-arid to continental. The average rainfall per annum is about 450 mm (see Appendix 2). In the Kalahari region which is semi-desert, the rainfall is about 250 mm per annum and is mostly irregular. The north-east is fairly well watered with the Okavango Delta which gets an annual flow of water from the highlands in Angola to the north of the country. The region also has about 650 mm of rain per annum. The rainy season is in the summer between the months of October and April. Botswana is unfortunately drought prone and often has drought-cycles lasting up to five or six years (see Appendix 1). Summers are hot with

9

maximum temperatures reaching up to 37°C or even 40°C at times. Winters are dry and especially during June and July, the temperatures at night can drop to 0°C causing frost. Over the Kalahari, where there is not usually any cloud cover, the winter nights can be very chilly.

The vegetation is closely related to the soil and rainfall patterns e.g. the Kalahari which has poor rainfall figures and sandy soils is mainly covered with thornbush and dry grasslands (see Appendices 2 and 3).

#### **1.4.0 THE POLITICAL SITUATION**

Botswana is a parliamentary democracy and professes non-racialism. All citizens are eligible to vote from the age of twenty-one. Botswana is one of the few multi-party states in Africa. The Botswana Democratic Party has won all the five elections held so far with an overwhelming majority and currently holds twenty-eight out of the total thirty-four seats in parliament. The Botswana National Front holds five seats and the Botswana Peoples Party holds one seat. The Botswana Independence Party and another party with a few independent candidates all failed to win any seats in the last elections (1984).

Legislative power, according to the constitution is vested in a parliament consisting of a president and a unicameral National Assembly, comprising the Speaker, the Attorney-General, thirty-four elected members of the assembly. In addition, there are four specially elected members. General elections are held every five years but may be held earlier if the President so desires. The current President is Dr Quett Masire who took over after the death of Sir Seretse Khama.

In addition to the National Assembly, there is the House of Chiefs with fifteen members. Although it does not have legislative powers, it plays a crucial and important advisory role. Prior to independence, Dikgosi (chiefs) were responsible for their states which are now district councils.



Gaborone is the capital city, and the seat of the central government. All the ministries, foreign embassies and most other important government, public and private offices are situated there. Through a system of local government machinery at the district level, the government seeks to implement many of its policies. There are ten districts albeit only nine district councils because the Chobe District and the Ngamiland District share one council between them (see Figure 1). There are also five town councils.

#### **1.5.0 THE POPULATION**

Botswana has a population of just over a million people of whom the largest group comprises the Tswana speaking tribes. The minority groups include the Bakalanga who are the largest group in this category; the Khoi-san and other semi-nomadic groups mainly in the Kalahari region; the Ba Herero in the west; other small groups of European and Asian origins. The official languages are Setswana and English.

##### **1.5.1 Distribution and Characteristics**

The main features of the population (see National Development Plan 1985:8) are as follows:-

- (i) The population is rather small given the size of the country.
- (ii) Due to high fertility rates, declining mortality rates and also because of immigration, the population trend is towards a rapid growth.
- (iii) There is a high proportion of younger children (see Appendix 4a).
- (iv) There is a general decline in infant mortality and life expectancy seems to be increasing.
- (v) A high proportion of men are working outside the country — at least 25% in 1981. This means that women tend to head most households.
- (vi) The settlement patterns are changing rapidly.

The last population census was in August 1981 and showed a defacto population of 941, 027; a dejure population of 967,311 compared to 1971 when there were 574,094 and 649,803 people respectively. The defacto figure for 1986 shows a total population of 1,131,700 and it is estimated that by 1991 this will increase to 1,357,600 whilst the dejure population will be 1,356,941.

Most of the Batswana who are outside the country are migrant workers who work mainly in South African mines. However due to a shift in policy in that country, the numbers of migrant workers are showing a decline. In 1976 there were 40,370 migrant workers whilst in 1983, there were only 17,852. This decline is expected to continue in the future (Barclays Bank 1985: 31; National Development Plan (N.D.P.) 6; 1986).

According to the N.D.P.6., the population growth rate is estimated at 3.4% per annum compared to 3.1% in 1971. This means in real terms, that the population is doubling within 20 years compared to the previous rate of every 22 years. Obviously, this rapid growth rate has tremendous repercussions on the age structure and size of the population. For example, in 1981 half of the population was under 15 years of age and about one fifth were estimated to be over 15 years of age (see Appendix 4a.).

#### 1.5.2 Settlement Patterns:-

The bulk of the population is along the eastern part of the country which is fairly fertile and well watered (see Appendix 5). The railway line that runs through Botswana from South Africa and goes on to Zimbabwe is also situated in the eastern part of the country. It is not surprising therefore to find that all the big towns are on the eastern side. Gaborone is the capital city — the only city and it was only recently inaugurated as such in 1986 when Botswana celebrated here twentieth anniversary of independence. It has a population of about 85,000 and is estimated to have 105,000 people by 1990 (Barclays 1985:22). The other large towns along the eastern side are Francistown which

is the largest and lies to the north and Lobatse which lies to the south. Selibe Phikwe and Jwaneng are fairly new mining towns. There are also some large rural towns that make up the district capitals such as Serowe, Mochudi, Molepolole and Kanye most of which are also along the eastern side.

The western part of the country mainly the North-west, Ghanzi and Kgalagadi Districts, are thinly populated (see Appendix 5 and Figure 1) with an average density of about .2 persons per square kilometre. This area accounts for 61% of the total land mass. The 1981 census shows that only 12.5% of the total population live in that area.

There is a constant shift from rural to urban areas; people migrating to work in the mines in South Africa and there is a constant annual internal movement of people between their places of work or homes to their cattle posts and lands which are all in different places.

#### 1.6.0 THE ECONOMY

At the time of independence, Botswana was one of the poorest countries in Africa and the most thinly populated in the world after Mongolia (Kann, 1981:3). Botswana was dependent mainly on Agriculture both in terms of output and export earnings. Due to severe drought conditions during the independence era, the general picture appeared quite gloomy. Foreign Aid was a dire necessity for subsidizing the recurrent expenditure.

However since independence, a number of factors have contributed towards the general improvement of Botswana's economic situation. These are:—

- a) The discovery of large mineral deposits such as copper-nickel, diamonds and coal. There are also good prospects for future mineral resource findings e.g. oil.
- b) The Okavango Swamps in the north and the Kalahari Desert with their abundant wild life resources inter alia offer some income through attracting tourists and show a lot of potential to be further developed.

- c) The Customs agreement between Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa has earned the country a fair amount of income.
- d) The political stability of the country has and still continues to attract a lot of foreign investment and aid.

However a number of problems still persist and threaten economic development. Firstly, dependence on minerals and agriculture can make the country vulnerable more especially with the change in the price of minerals on the world markets. As for agriculture, beef export which is Botswana's main contribution in that sector, also depends on the European markets and more pertinent, the outbreak of foot and mouth disease can be catastrophic as was the case in 1981. However with the recent opening of a vaccine institute in Gaborone, and a new training institute in Lobatse for the Southern African Developing Countries Conference (SADCC), and the setting up of cordon fences, the spread of the disease has been fairly well contained. Agriculture in general is always threatened by the country's vulnerability to long drought cycles lasting up to five or six years.

Another important factor, is the dependence on South African goods, ports and other services e.g. technicians to service and repair the mining equipment. With the current situation as it is, with surmounting international pressure for sanctions on South Africa, it puts Botswana in a precarious position which only highlights her vulnerability. In recent years, S.A.D.C.C. was formed to help the 'Frontline States' face this difficulty. Not much has been achieved yet but then it may be too soon to judge the value of S.A.D.C.C.

Generally the value of imports increased from P675 million (pula<sup>1</sup>) in 1980 to P720 million in 1984 (Barclays Bank 1985:47). The N.D.P.6 (1986:19) shows that the Gross Domestic Product (G.D.P.) for 1982/83 was estimated at P997 million with the equivalent of P1026 per capita. The plan states that this figure needs to be carefully examined because "the G.D.P. measure includes incomes

---

<sup>1</sup> One pula is approximately £0.35 British sterling, 1989 or \$.45 (U.S.).

that accrue to non-Batswana". The N.D.P. also states that about 25% of all wage and salary earnings in the country accrue to non-citizens i.e. expatriates. In addition, the income within Botswana is skewed as in many other countries because most Batswana receive far less income than the average income figure.

The Plan further shows that even though formal sector employment has been growing very rapidly since the 1970's (about +7% per annum), it can only employ about 20% of the population aged fifteen years and over. This together with the fact that the population growth rate is 3.4% per annum means that there are more people entering the labour market each year than the number of jobs created.

In recent years, the mining sector and in particular, diamonds have become the major export accounting for two thirds of total exports valued in 1983. The contributions of Agriculture, still the largest single sector for employment dropped from 39% in 1966 to 7.4% in 1983 and by that time, mining contributed to 25.7% of the G.D.P. (N.D.P. 1986:14). Mining is not labour intensive and this has contributed to the irony of Botswana's economic growth. The booming economy unfortunately has not affected all citizens and the inequality in the distribution of wealth earnings seems to be increasing. Moreover, the N.D.P.6 (1986:20) shows that almost about three quarters of the population is rural and that the Agricultural sector accounts for the bulk of the income generated in rural areas. The National Migration Study (N.M.S. 1981), shows that 80% of total agricultural contribution came from the cattle industry. However, the N.M.S. further shows that 45% of rural households did not own any cattle at all and that the top 7% of the cattle owners owned almost half the national herd.

#### **1.7.0 THE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY**

Botswana possesses a set of national principles outlined by the ruling party, the Botswana Democratic Party. These are:-

- (i) Puso ya Batho ka Batho — Democracy
- (ii) Ditiro tsa Ditlhabololo — Development
- (iii) Boipelego — Self Reliance
- (iv) Popagano ya Sechaba — Unity

These combine to produce the National Philosophy of Kagisano which means 'Social Harmony' and embraces concepts of social justice, interdependence and mutual assistance (N.C.E. 1977:23). These principles have been emphasized in various speeches by the late President Sir Seretse Khama and also in the B.D.P. election manifesto (1974). They have also been used in National Development Plans (N.D.P.'s). Through these, objectives of national planning have been derived. Emphasis is always laid on the fact that these are not new principles and are in fact rooted in Botswana's culture and traditions.

As mentioned above the principles have influenced all development planning and the 1975/78 and 1976/81 development plans have focussed on them. The education system has also adopted the four principles.<sup>2</sup> For the N.D.P.'s however, four related objectives have been developed and these are — rapid economic growth; social justice; economic independence and sustained development.

The challenge for both future economic and educational planning lies in improving the rural sector where the majority of the population live. According to the N.D.P. 6, (1985:21):

Government recognizes that in the long run the only way to secure a sustained increase in poor people's standards of living is to provide them with more productive work.

In this respect, education is seen as a central lever in the whole process of development (N.C.E.:1977). In particular the current N.D.P.6 (1985:123) emphasizes the need for rural development and employment generation and notes further:

---

<sup>2</sup> For more details see National Commission on Education Report (1977)

.....It is evident that for many school children, seven or eventually nine years of basic education will be the highest available formal education available. A great majority of these will have to live and earn their living in rural areas after leaving schools and because of this, there is need to make the school leaver to adapt more easily to productive employment or self-employment.

The relevance of this objective and whether it is being pursued in the new nine year programme, is examined in Chapter Seven. Nevertheless we need to look at the overall educational development i.e. structure and provision within the given context. Below, the education system is looked at in more detail starting with a brief overview of the origins of Western education before independence in 1966.

#### **1.8.0 THE EDUCATION SYSTEM: BROAD OVERVIEW**

This section provides a broad overview of education in Botswana from the pre-independence era to the current time.

##### **1.8.1 Introduction and Expansion of Educational Provision: Pre-Independence and Early Post-Independence Era**

Western education was introduced in Botswana by missionaries as early as 1847 about four decades before Botswana was colonized. Before this time, the Batswana and other ethnic groups had their own forms of traditional education which are still in existence in some parts of the country today (c.f. Chapter Three).

Initially the colonial government did not demonstrate an interest in education in Botswana. This was in line with their policies on education for Africans in the region as a whole (Munger 1965; Parsons 1984). Missionary involvement in the provision of early education soon ran into difficulties as will be discussed in Chapter Three.

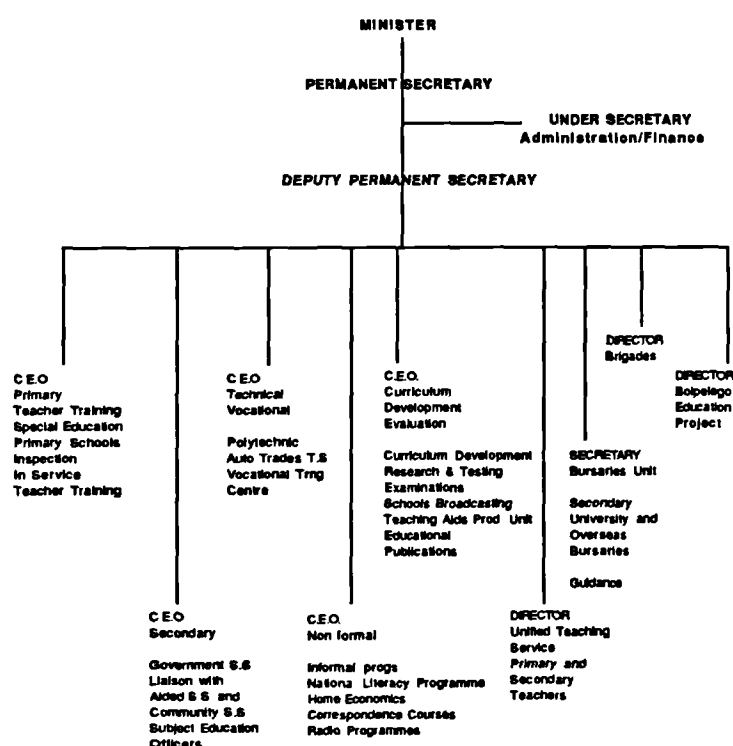
Tribal initiatives in building their own schools were reluctantly accepted but only at the primary level. Secondary education was not encouraged and at the time of independence in 1966, there was only one government secondary

school and just a handful of others that were run by various missionary organizations such as the London Missionary Society.

The colonial administration's neglect of the formal system of education in Botswana had serious consequences. First, there was a continuous dependence for secondary and higher education on South Africa. Second, Botswana was less well equipped for independence in terms of availability of local skilled manpower than other British colonies e.g. Ghana or Nigeria. Third, the number of expatriates increased to 70% between 1959 and 1964 and at the time of independence in 1966, they occupied almost a third of all established posts in the public sector.<sup>3</sup>

Soon after independence in 1966, there was a fairly rapid development of education in both the primary and secondary levels under the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Below, an overview of the organization of the Ministry of Education is provided, followed by an examination of the developments in primary and secondary education.

**FIGURE 2: ORGANIZATIONAL CHART OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION**



Source: Ministry of Education; (1986c)

<sup>3</sup> Colclough, C. and McCarthy, S. (Ed) 1980:208.



### 1.8.2 The Organizational Structure of the Ministry of Education

The organization of the Ministry of Education is presented in Figure 2. The headquarters of the ministry is under the control of the Minister who is assisted by the Permanent Secretary and the Deputy Permanent Secretary. Between them, are divided all the portfolios of the ministry. There is a special policy advisory committee which is chaired by the Minister, senior officials and heads of departments and which tries to overlook all the activities that are taking place in the ministry.

The Ministry is very centralized in structure and controls most important functions pertaining to the provision of education in Botswana, whether primary, secondary or tertiary. Although the Departments of Primary and Secondary Education are structurally separate and appear not to be linked to each other, various other departments such as the Curriculum Development and Evaluation Unit or the Unified Teaching Service try to liaise with personnel from both of these departments on related matters. The new nine year programme in particular, has attempted to bridge the gap between these sectors.

Primary schools are not entirely under the control of the Ministry of Education because they are managed by District and Town Councils who in turn are under the control of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. The councils are responsible for maintaining building standards, provision of classrooms, staff houses, school furniture procurement, school feeding and the employment of untrained teachers and ancillary staff. The Ministry of Education is *inter alia* responsible for the curriculum, school inspection, examinations, employment of trained teachers and school heads. A further discussion and analysis of decentralization and education is provided in Chapter Eight.

### 1.8.3 The National Commission on Education

In 1974, the B.D.P. election manifesto declared that it had set up a National Commission on Education to review the whole education system of Botswana.

The Commission was only appointed at the end of 1975 and began their work in 1976. Finally in 1977, they published a report in which they had identified the major problems at the various levels of education (except the University which was not within their terms of reference), together with a list of recommendations.

It is interesting to note that the Commission focussed their work around the four national principles mentioned earlier. With regards to these principles, the Commission wrote, "pursuit of the national ideal of 'Kagisano' informs the effort to translate Kagisano (social harmony) into a reality and end the isolation and privilege so inherent in education, that underlines the recommendations in this report on equal access to education, more equal distribution of educational resources throughout Botswana and between institutions, more positive measures to help the less fortunate and closer links between the school and community".<sup>4</sup>

#### 1.8.4 PRIMARY EDUCATION: FOCUS ON PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS BY THE COMMISSION ON EDUCATION

The Commission felt bound to accord the highest priority to improvement and reform at the primary level because irrespective of its conditions, primary education is the most important of all stages of education. In contemporary Botswana there are ten times as many primary schools as there are secondary schools and at the time when the Commission wrote, these primary schools were reaching out into the communities which were as much as 200 miles from the nearest secondary school and this may nearly well be true for some, even today. Primary education is the foundation on which further learning is based and opens up to young persons a range of opportunities for further study and work which are otherwise closed to the uneducated. So, as mentioned above, primary education got first priority in the Commission's report. Until very recently, universal access in Botswana has meant universal access to seven

---

<sup>4</sup> National Commission on Education Report, 1977:34.

years of primary education. The Government is now considering how to implement universal access to junior secondary education — the first stage of the second level of education in Botswana and which is examined in more detail in subsequent chapters. However we need to look at some of the problems inherent at the primary level. A possible starting point would be to assess whether the stated objective in the National Development Plan 1979/85 has been achieved: "The government attached the highest priority within education to the single primary sector. First, in the interest of equality of opportunity and developing the potential of all children, the government seeks to provide universal access to primary education".<sup>5</sup>

In 1975 there were only 166 primary schools with an enrolment of 29,000. But by 1985, there were as many as 500 primary schools and a total enrolment of 195,000. The Central Statistics Office estimates that the proportion of a cohort that actually reaches std VII increased from 66.2% for those who started in 1968 to 82.3% for those who started in 1974.<sup>6</sup>

According to the Commission (1977:64) about 93% of the age cohort 7-13 year olds were in school by 1976. Increase in the enrolment was mainly due to the reduction in school fees which were abolished later, based on the Commission's recommendation. To avoid unnecessary strain on the government, the Commission recommended that "compulsory education should be postponed until conditions are suitable for it but that local councils should be free to introduce compulsory education on a district by district basis".

Botswana like other developing countries, had joined the race towards meeting the goal of Universal Primary Education by 1980, as was agreed to at the Addis Ababa conference in 1962.<sup>7</sup> The question thus arises, "has Botswana achieved U.P.E.?" The answer is no, as illustrated by the population pyramid (see Appendix 4.b) which further shows that there is a higher proportion of girls

---

<sup>5</sup> National Commission on Education Report, 1977:34.

<sup>6</sup> Kann, U., 1984:88.

<sup>7</sup> BERC Bulletin; 1980:2.

who enrol for primary education than boys. In the first place, there are still many children who do not have access to school for various reasons. Second, there exists great disparity in terms of educational provision between the populated areas along the railway line in the east and the sparsely populated areas in the central and western parts of the country. The traditional patterns of settlement and migration in Botswana make it difficult and expensive to provide educational facilities in these areas and the children may not have the support of their parents. According to a survey by Smith some of the still important reasons for non-enrolment are:- boys needed for herding cattle and small stock; distance to the nearest primary school and attitudes towards primary education amongst parents as well as children.<sup>8</sup>

Furthermore there exists a dual system at the primary level i.e. there are two types of primary schools — English and Tswana medium. The former are run by private, independent boards and cater mainly for the elite and are only in the urban areas. In these schools, English is used as a medium of instruction throughout the primary school i.e. seven years. They were initially built to cater for the expatriate children but are now also catering for those local children whose parents can afford the high fees. In the Tswana medium schools, Setswana, the national language is used as the medium of instruction for the first four years of primary school (based on the Commission's recommendation) after which, there is a switch over to English. Apart from being "inferior in quality" to their counterparts, the Tswana medium schools have a further dichotomy of ranging from the best in the large rural towns i.e district capitals to the 'poorest' in the remote small villages.<sup>9</sup>

Campbell and Abott (1977) who did a study on spatial distribution of primary schools in Botswana, found that 50% of the teachers in large and small villages were untrained, 27% in large rural towns (district headquarters), and 2% only in urban towns. Of the total number of teachers, 36% were untrained in 1975. In

---

<sup>8</sup> See also Allison, C., 1981; and Dixey (1982) as quoted by Kann, U., 1984:91.

<sup>9</sup> Campbell, N. and Abott, J., 1977:6-11, N.C.E. Report Vol. II.

1983, a similar study was undertaken and this showed that 31% of the teachers in large and small villages were untrained, 24% in district headquarters and 27% in towns! The average was 29% for all the schools. The figures show that there has been an improvement both in terms of just the overall numbers as well as in greater equity (see Kann 1984:93). However despite this improvement in terms of numbers of trained teachers there is also the aspect of quality that should be given serious consideration. Most of the teachers have a poor academic background some of whom (including the trained teachers) have not gone beyond junior secondary education. With regards to the curriculum, the Commission has spoken about the practical emphasis in the teaching of each subject and this has great implications on the ability of the teacher to expand his knowledge beyond spoon-feeding techniques that are so inherent in the teaching at this level. Besides, Kann (1984) has noted the lack of books and teaching materials in most schools. Though it should be mentioned that the Faculty of Education has now got a Department of Primary Education which has been established through a link with Ohio University. This department is looking into the aspect of qualitative improvement of the primary system in Botswana (c.f. Chapter Seven). The fact remains that the department is only training a few inspectors for schools and lecturers for the Primary School Teacher Training Colleges each year, and therefore any improvement will take a long time to be fully realised. In the final analysis it is yet too soon to agree with Simon (1984) that primary education in Botswana is a "success story".

#### 1.8.5 Secondary Education: Structure, Aims and Objectives

The present structure of the primary and secondary levels of education in Botswana is 7 years primary; 3 years junior secondary and 2 years senior secondary — (7-3-2). The Commission (1977:85-89) has recommended that this structure should be changed to 6-3-3. The government is already trying to implement this change in their plan to provide universal junior secondary

education for all by 1990. However during the plan period 1985/89 a transition stage of 7 years primary, 2 years junior secondary and 3 years senior secondary was introduced from January 1986. According to the National Development Plan 6 (December '85), there are now 62 secondary schools — 23 Government and Aided schools and 39 Community Junior Secondary Schools (C.J.S.S.). It is planned to increase Form I enrolment from 10,800 students in 1984 to 23,000 in 1990 (see Table 1.1). This will allow 70% of standard VII leavers to gain access to Form I as compared to only 40% in 1984. The progression rates are higher if the forecast number of standard VII repeaters is excluded — in 1984 50% of net std. VII leavers proceeded to Form I and by 1990 this is expected to increase to 83%. A similar rate of expansion is planned for senior secondary education. The planned intake will increase from 2,250 students in 1984 to 6,500 students in 1991.

**TABLE 1.1 PROJECTED SECONDARY ENROLMENTS TO 1991**

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
<b>Junior secondary</b>								
Form 1	10818	10265	10540	12460	15360	19000	21000	23000
Form 2	7084	10169	9649	9908	11712	14438	17860	19740
Form 3	5651	6234	8949	—	—	—	—	—
subtotal	25553	26668	29138	30859	27072	33438	38860	42740
<b>senior secondary</b>								
Form 3	—	—	—	—	4639	5257	5876	6494
Form 4	2196	2250	2400	3300	3900	4500	5100	5700
Form 5	1577	2130	2183	2328	3201	3783	4365	4947
subtotal	3773	4380	4583	5628	11740	13540	15341	17141
Total	27326	31048	33721	36487	38812	46978	54201	59881

Source: Ministry of Education Planning unit, 1984.

Note: Junior Secondary Form 3 comes to an end in 1988, as a three year senior secondary education programme is introduced.

It is clearly evident from the above table that the government's intention is to increase places for junior secondary education at a greater rate than e.g. senior secondary.

The government's long term objectives for secondary education are based on the report of the National Commission on Education (1977) and the subsequent government paper of 1977 on 'National policy for education'. There are two main objectives:-

- To meet Botswana's manpower requirements, particularly to form 5 school leavers with good qualifications in Maths and Science.
- To provide universal access to junior secondary education (N.D.P. 1985:139).

#### 1.8.6 Secondary Education: Overview of Problems and Recommendations by the N.C.E.

The Commission feels that Botswana will not be able to afford universal five years full time secondary education for the whole age group for many decades. They feel that the present emphasis should be placed on nine years schooling for all. One of the reasons they attribute to this view is the mere costs involved.

Pressure on demand for junior secondary education comes from several reasons a few of which have already been mentioned e.g. the need for skilled manpower especially at the time of independence. According to the N.D.P.6 (1985:139), "By the end of the 1979/85 plan period, at least half of the primary school leavers should be admitted to Form I in Government and Aided schools or C.J.S.S.". Following the reduction of primary school fees in 1973 and the subsequent abolishing of them by 1980, the intake into standard I was obviously much larger than before. By 1979, it has reached 18,300 compared to 14,400 in the previous year. But in 1982, the percentage intake into Form I had declined considerably.

Simon (1984:101), notes "in the past 5 years, a smaller proportion of std. VII leavers entered into Form I than in each previous year .... In 1982 about 28,200 std. VII leavers competed for 7,255 places in Form I. This represents an intake of 25.7% as compared with a 1977 high of 39.1% in Form I". He goes on to say this is a big problem for Botswana as it poses serious social implications. The present std. VII leaver today is younger than his peers 10 years ago. At the young age of about 13 the school leaver who is not admitted into Form I is shut out of alternatives. From this, it is clear that social demands for schooling are great and this poses a political threat to the government. It is this very demand for schooling at the 2nd level that has lead to the growth of community schools in Botswana but this will be discussed later on.

Apart from the lack of opportunity for secondary education (or the inequality in terms of availability of places), there is another major inequality problem at the secondary level of education. At the moment, there exists a three tier system at this 2nd level, the first category consists of privately managed schools. There are two schools of this type one of which is run as a night school (based at an existing primary school) and is called 'Capital Continuation Classes'. It is supported by the community but managed privately with poor resources and mainly untrained teachers. The other, 'Maru-A-Pula', is an elite type with private management, high fees, expatriate and trained staff. With regards to this school the Commission feels strongly that "the public support of an elite form of education for an elite few is inequitable and contrary to the national principle of unity". They further say that while "the concept of multi-racial education at this elite school is valuable and Batswana who wish and can afford to send their children to the 6th Form there should be allowed to do so but recommend that the government should not provide any public bursaries for this" (1977:95). Maru-A-Pula is the only secondary school that offers a 6th Form leading for the 'A' level examination which is an essential requirement of entry into universities overseas such as British ones.



The second category is the Government and Aided secondary schools. The aided schools were built and maintained by various church organizations, they are run just as the government ones. It is needless to say that most of government's resources and efforts are concentrated in these schools which are responsible for the education of the nation. As mentioned earlier, there are now 62 secondary schools of which 29 are Government and Aided, the rest are C.J.S.S. Most of these (government and aided) schools were offering a 5 year programme i.e. they offer both junior secondary as well as senior secondary schooling.

The third category of schools known as Community schools were initially started by various individuals or groups of individuals and were known as private schools. These schools had poor resources, untrained teachers and performed badly in the national junior certificate examinations when compared to their counterparts. However, since 1984, the government embarked on a joint partnership venture with various communities in the provision of schools. These new schools are known as Community Junior Secondary Schools (C.J.S.S.) and have now taken over the provision of junior secondary schooling from the Government and Government Aided schools which are now purely senior secondary schools. Various issues pertaining to the C.J.S.S. are examined in subsequent chapters and form the main part of the thesis.

#### 1.9.0 CONCLUSION

This chapter describes the context in which the study is situated. The main features of that context which are thought to have implications for the subject of this thesis on community schooling are as follows:—

First, despite Botswana's economic success both in terms of Gross National Product (G.N.P.) and Gross Development Production (G.D.P.), the equality of educational provision both in terms of quality and quantity is affected in a number of ways that are relevant to the thesis:-

- (a) At the primary level there exists a two tier educational system — Private English medium high cost schools for the elite and Tswana-medium government schools that are run by the councils for the masses. The Tswana-medium schools are further differentiated by urban — rural location.
- (b) Lack of schools at the second level (Secondary) results in:- (i) Competition for few places which favours those who have had better primary level tuition. (ii) Emergence of private, community and government schools resulting in a three-tier system at the secondary level.
- (c) The emergence of the new C.J.S.S. which is a partnership venture between the government and the communities aimed at (i) provision of more schools, (ii) similar type of schools throughout the country that is in terms of quality.
- (d) The extent to which these new C.J.S.S. provide more equal opportunity in both quantitative and qualitative terms is examined in detail. However the partnership venture raises a few important issues that will also be looked at in the thesis and are as follows: (i) The acceptability of the programme to the concerned parties. (ii) The extent to which the government is dependent on the communities in the so called 'partnership' and vice-versa. (iii) The availability of resources and skilled personnel at the local community level.

Second, settlement patterns are important to the study because (a) most of the large towns and villages are located along the eastern part of the country. The western half of the country is mainly semi-arid and is dotted with many small villages. (b) The definition of community will be affected by the distance of communities from the school. (c) The socio-economic status of community members, the population size of the local community and the distance of the 'community' from the school will affect the link between that school and its community. Poor communication networks

and lack of other facilities and services for instance proper water-retention, the lack or non-availability of electricity especially in the rural areas will also have some effects on the quality of education as well as the management of the C.J.S.S.

Third, Botswana has a fast growing population; about half the population is below the age of fifteen; there are more people entering the job market every year than the the number of jobs created; all these factors have tremendous implications for educational policy viz:- (i) The demand for education will continue to increase. (ii) The relevance of the curriculum especially in the new nine year programme will be a very important issue. (iii) Alternative programmes for those who are denied educational opportunities will have to be designed. (iv) Education should not be regarded as a panacea for social and economic ills. This means that education should not be regarded as the only solution to a vast number of related and unrelated problems. Furthermore, the development of educational programmes should not be done in isolation. If students are sent to school for the purpose of creating self-employment on their completion, then opportunities to promote this goal should also be followed up such as the provision of skill training, management training and resources to start off various entrepreneurship schemes.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **PROBLEM CONCEPTUALIZATION**

#### **2.00 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter begins by examining the importance of community participation in schooling. An international literature review on community schooling provides us with several assumptions that depict the 'ideal type' of community school. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the extent to which the meaning of community schooling in Botswana fits the 'ideal type' discussed in this chapter. There are five main objectives for the study.

#### **2.1.0 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

In recent years, community participation has been at the focus of interest of many governments especially in Third World Countries, as well as such international aid organizations as the World Bank, Unesco, and the African Development Bank for two main reasons namely decentralized decision making and community financing of schools which are examined below.

#### **2.1.1 Decentralized Decision-Making**

There is a general belief that community participation has an important contribution to make in the whole process of education, a phenomenon that has hitherto been left out in the planning of educational programmes by central governments. According to the World Bank:-

Systems via their rigid and central bureaucracies have tended to block information and decisions, to alienate schools from their environments and to limit their ability to respond to local needs and resource opportunities. (Habte, 1988).

Habte (1988: 7) notes that under the difficult conditions in the African context where for example systems of communications and transport are poor, greater reliance on local initiative might have a positive effect on the education system.

According to Street and McGinn (1986) the purposes of decentralization are to increase participation in decision-making at the local level to improve the efficiency of the system. Many developing countries over the past two decades have shown tendencies of decentralizing their education systems. According to Bray (1985:183) some systems are centralizing and others are decentralizing whilst some are undergoing both processes albeit most are decentralizing. In the same article he quotes Conyers (1983) who asks the question whether it is now the fashion to decentralize.

Bray (1985) in his study on decentralization in Papua New Guinea comes up with three important lessons for other countries that are planning to decentralize:-

- (i) Decentralization should not be seen as a panacea.
- (ii) There is need for policy makers and implementors to sharpen their understanding of types, dimensions and levels of decentralization.
- (iii) Careful attention should be paid to training and other aspects of implementation e.g. it should be given time to work.

With regards to levels of decentralization, Robinson (1986:74) says that the level of decentralization in a developing society can tell us much about the conflicts over objectives, financing and control issues between central authorities and local citizens vis a vis educational development as well as about the more general relationship between government and citizens. He illustrates this point through the following examples:-

One level — in which decentralization extends over a whole policy area such as education, implies that the regime believes that a consensus exists between leadership and citizenry. A middle level of decentralization, involving

partial policy areas e.g. primary education, implies that the leadership is content with sharing decision making and has some confidence that people at the local level share common agreement on policy directives. The third level of decentralization representing the largest concentration of central power, involves only token participation and grass root decision making on low level policies e.g. the construction of school buildings.

Decentralization as a concept can be vague; e.g. an institution may be autonomous from the central ministry but may still have a centrally controlled bureaucratic administration. This shows how an organization can be both centralized in terms of its decision making and yet be decentralized by virtue of its autonomy. Furthermore a system may be administratively devolved without being politically devolved i.e. decentralization in the former instance and devolution for the latter.

McGinn and Street (1986:473) note later that other studies have found little positive evidence that policies of decentralization actually work or that they increase effectiveness, administrative efficiency or local participation. A further discussion and analysis on the different forms of decentralization is provided in Chapter Eight.

Weiler (1984) sees no compatibility between planning and participation. In his view, the concept of participation carries with it a latent threat to the central bureaucracy and as a result, the central bureaucrats want to control the decision making. Those supposed to participate in the decision-making, the community, are to a large extent then dictated to by the government or state which results in their becoming dissatisfied and reluctant to contribute positively.

Rondinelli (1983) in his analysis of general decentralization reforms argues that policies are often subverted by groups within government that act in their own interests. He notes further that decentralization is often a failure because of a lack of commitment to policies. Dove (1980a:77) for instance saw a number of problems with community schools and these were mainly due to the

incompatibility between community needs and national policy for rural development. She notes:-

Despite the commitment of government and international agencies to the idea of community participation in schools in the interest of rural improvement, such schemes are unlikely to serve the interests of the whole community for which they are intended unless there is a genuine mutuality of interests amongst members of the community.

According to Bray, Clarke and Stephens (1986) projects that involve villagers and teachers in curriculum development require a lot of time and organization on the part of the latter. In addition, skills in management and public relations which are lacking in most teacher training programmes also lead to the downfall of such projects. Lauglo (1982), Dove (1982a) and Bude (1982) note that teachers are often overburdened with teaching activities and are not trained for community development work. Bray (1985) in his studies in Papua New Guinea showed that decentralization of administration at the regional level could lead to inefficiency due to skilled manpower shortages. Teachers who lacked administrative skills were being recruited into regional and local administrative posts which were better paid and more prestigious than teaching jobs. Thus, there were negative effects both in teaching as the best teachers were being recruited for the new jobs, as well as on the administrative efficiency.

From the above, we note that whilst decentralization may be seen to have certain advantages e.g. involving those people at the local level (who are familiar with their problems and needs) in the decision making, there are also many disadvantages. Furthermore, decentralization should not be seen as the panacea for social ills in any society. A full understanding of decentralization is required before any governments decide on such a policy.

### 2.1.2 Community Financing of Schools

The second reason for the current interest in community participation in many Third World countries is due to the contribution that communities are making in the financing and building of schools. Governments in these countries are finding it more and more difficult to meet the demands of schooling and are thus also failing to achieve their goals of Universalization of Basic Education whether primary or secondary (Williams 1986; Bray and Lillis 1988).

Communities have often been involved in local projects (Dove 1980a; Sinclair and Lillis 1980; Thompson 1983) e.g. building roads; cleaning the village; helping out in times of natural disasters such as famines, floods and droughts; responding to national appeals for various projects. With particular reference to schools, communities have always played an important role in either building classrooms or whole schools or even funding government schools. Self-help and self reliance projects mainly for the building and financing of schools have been the hallmark for community participation in the development of education in quite a number of countries (Bray and Coombe 1987:430).

Most governments are under intense pressure to restrain education budgets. Inadequate national budgets have to be shared amongst equally important services such as defence, health, communication networks and other social services. Even though evidence from some Third World countries indicates that overall education budgets have grown, in many instances, per pupil expenditures are on the decline. This in turn affects the quality of educational provision in these countries. According to the World Bank:

We can look at recurrent expenditures per student as one indication of educational quality. In 1980, for example, we can see that while industrialized countries were spending an average of \$2,257 per primary student, middle income countries spent only \$180, and the low income countries only \$81. And although expenditure levels have increased dramatically in the industrialized countries since 1970 in constant-dollar terms, they have actually fallen during the same period in many low income countries. (c.f. Habte, 1988:3).



For countries that are experiencing acute shortages in fiscal capacity to meet the growth in demand for educational services, especially in these times of austerity, the search for identifying appropriate alternative sources of both material and financial support is very crucial. This has led to a resurgence of interest in community participation since communities have shown potential capability of quite spectacular fund raising over time (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1985; Lewin 1985, Lillis and Bray 1988).

Most communities have preferred a one-off contribution i.e. they would prefer to help in various development projects either by contributing money or providing free labour, (Williams, 1986:239). According to Paul et al. (1986:382), financial contributions are of course the most obvious demonstrations of community support albeit self-help in the form of labour, materials and assistance towards the functioning of schools is also spoken of. Williams (1986:241) notes further that it is easier to mobilize community effort on behalf of school buildings and the construction of facilities than for recurrent costs of schooling.

However community support may have some problems as Lillis (1988:128) argues that community support in school financing in the Kenyan context can be viewed upon as a 'double edged sword'. On the one hand, the movement has had an enormous quantitative impact. On the other hand however, the Harambee projects have often accentuated both regional and social inequalities. But Lillis notes that where community resources support government ones, the overall effect is likely to be positive.

The fact that community participation in the development of education especially in the building and financing of schools is of topical interest cannot be denied. Several conferences and workshops have been organized by Commonwealth countries to discuss topical issues relating to community participation such as the Lagos conference (1976), the Colombo conference 1978, the Pacific conference (1976), the Cyprus conference in (1984), the

Regional Workshop in Botswana and in New Zealand in 1986. The themes for these meetings have ranged from community participation in education; ways of adapting education in response to present and future needs; resources for education and their cost use, (see Bray, 1987; Chisman 1987; Commonwealth Secretariat 1976 and 1985).

Is community participation at the local level a form of decentralized activity? Will schools be more responsive to local needs if participation is increased at local level? Should communication be only involved in the financing of schools or should they also be involved in the management and other aspects? What managerial and other resource capacities do various communities have? Who should be responsible for the provision of education in the long run — the government or the communities? Or should there be a sharing of responsibilities as Bacchus (1988) suggests?

Botswana offers a good case study for examining all these issues in more detail as the country has recently evolved a system of partnership between government and the communities in the development and provision of secondary education. The success and effectiveness of this arrangement is not yet known. Moreover, the acceptability of this arrangement has not yet been assessed. However, before we define the problem that this thesis attempts to address, we first need to examine the concept of community schooling from an international perspective.

## 2.2.0 INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE OF COMMUNITY SCHOOLING

### 2.2.1 Community Schooling: Terms and Definitions

In order to define community schools, we need first to have a clear conception of the term 'community' which as Dove (1980:75) says, is a 'coat of many colours'. According to Mowatt (1975:23) a 1972 literature search in the United States revealed even then about 292 definitions of 'community'. There

appears to be a lack of consensus on what exactly the term means, a contention shared by Dove (1980a:75). However, there is now a slowly developing body of knowledge that casts some light on the subject. Albeit according to Batten (1980:27) contemporary ideas behind community education are not new and instead have a long history traceable back to Plato and Thomas More among others.

Duncan (1983:11) notes that the word 'community' could refer to a particular group with common interests or origins e.g. Asian Moslems or Catholics but 'community' could also refer to a wider group sharing some common identity e.g. Asians as a whole body.

Sometimes one finds the two words "community development" combined together. Batten (1957:1-20) says that community development is identified with almost any form of local betterment which is in some way achieved with the willing cooperation of the people. It is also seen as the process by which a community adapts itself to change. A community development agency is that outside organization that tries to help this process and to speed it up.

Later, Batten (1959:3) defines community schools as those that attempt to make school education more useful to the majority of children by relating it more closely and particularly to the local life of the community. He goes on to say that in some countries the idea of 'community schooling' is linked to 'community development'. Similarly Sinclair and Lillis (1980:15) say that many Third World countries in an attempt to ameliorate school leaver frustration and in some instances to use the school as an agent of rural transformation, have started experiments; and that the issue is a very live one in these countries as well as in international agencies e.g. UNESCO.

According to a UNESCO (1984) document, a community is a group of people who have common interests and work together for a common goal. A village may often be referred to as a community but it will not be a 'viable community' unless it is organized. By this is meant people getting together and

organizing themselves for a common purpose. Communities can also include organizations or groups of people not necessarily from the same area, but who form themselves into e.g. an association with a common purpose or identity such as the Botswana Council of Women. In a report of the recent workshop on the Community Financing of schools held in Gaborone, (Williams, 1985:1-13) suggests that a community could be defined as a group of people who share social, economic and cultural interests. Its members recognize social obligations to each other and hold at least some common values, and identifying each other as 'we'. He further says that this overall definition amongst other things might embrace the following examples: (a) a geographic community, (b) ethnic racial or religious communities, (c) communities based on common occupation or experience. He goes on to define a geographic community as probably the most common conception which may refer to all the individuals living in a village, rural district or urban suburbs which are small geographic areas. In some countries locally formed village development associations have become a major force in education. All the above definitions of community and community development are fairly similar though Williams definition of the word 'community' is quite comprehensive and would be the best one to describe the situation in Botswana.

According to Martin (1984:87-88) and Dove (1980a:75) there are different views about community schools. In the first place, in a society there will be many different views about what is wanted from these schools. Thus, the government and parents may have opposing aims about the schools. One group may want a 'ruralization' goal; and the other may simply aim for an academic programme. Second, whom are the schools really meant to serve? Communities may comprise different power groups such as the rich versus the poor or the aristocrats versus the peasant. Related to the above is the question of whether these schools are only meant for some people e.g. the rural poor while there are other 'better' schools in terms of resources, for the elite.

### 2.2.2 The Links Between Communities and Schools

Bacchus (1982:1-3) examines the concept of integration and points out some underlying assumptions and asks what does integration really mean? Integration, like 'community schooling' is often not clearly defined. King (1976) comments that it is rare for the community to be able to choose how it wants the school to function for its purposes. He says further that it is easier for the schools to go out to the communities for their own purposes e.g. to recruit instructions or to use land from the community for various activities.

According to Paul, Hamilton and Williams (1986), the links between the school and community will also depend on the nature of the community which inter alia is influenced by the distance a student has to walk from his house to the nearest school. In most developing countries, where there are few secondary school places, most students who are selected for a given school come from a wide area. If the interest groups, namely the parents and students, are far flung in a geographic sense, this not only makes the definition of what constitutes the community in relation to the school more complex, but it may also have repercussions for the links between the school and community.

The level of involvement will vary from person to person. In some countries e.g. Guyana (Paul, Hamilton and Williams, 1986)) or Papua New Guinea (Bray, 1985), parents are an integral part of the community and are willing to help in various ways such as providing labour, materials and finance for building schools and maintaining them.

According to Bray (1985) the Parents Teachers Association (P.T.A.), is another link between the school and community, in many countries. The P.T.A. is generally concerned with the welfare and smooth running of the school. Religious groups also play an important role in the school/community link. Business organizations may also have a link and have been known to contribute materials and finance especially when leaned upon. Local government organizations such as the Village Development Committees or the

District Development Committees also establish links with schools but mainly play an advisory role e.g. on the procedures for fund application from the central government.

In the Botswana situation, the National Development Plan (N.D.P) VI (1986/91:125) under a special heading of 'school and community' states that the government will continue to encourage 'community participation in education'. It further states:

Communities will be expected to share responsibility with the government in providing physical facilities as well as in the running of the schools.

From the above quote, it would appear that the governments only intention in the partnership venture is to utilize the financial resources of the communities to share in the burden of educational provision. The N.D.P. VI further spells out measures that will be adopted to foster a closer relationship between the school and community — adapting school curriculum to community life, establishment of local Boards of Governors to manage the schools; the development of P.T.A.'s in all schools. The National Commission on Education (N.C.E.; 1977:120) view on local Boards of Governors (B.O.G.) is that these boards are autonomous and will therefore be in a position to strengthen the links between the schools and the communities. Issues relating to the role of the B.O.G.'s and the curriculum will be looked at in Chapters Seven and Eight.

The N.C.E. further note that in general, the integration between the school and community in Botswana is weak both in terms of social community life in the school and in terms of the link between the school per se and the community in which it is located. Moreover they point out that the potential links between the school and its community have been less explored and suggest several ways in which these can be explored:-

- (i) Shared facilities: where school premises can be made available to various groups in the community for both academic and recreation activities.
- (ii) Social Services: There are various activities in which the students and teachers can offer their services e.g. teaching adults or non-school goers or helping handicapped persons etc.
- (iii) Community leadership: Where members of various village committees as e.g. Village Development Committee (V.D.C.) and the District Development Committee can come in and look at ways of developing the welfare and help plan and organize various activities for the community.
- (iv) Board of Governors: Members of the communities could sit on the boards and help in the running of the schools.
- (v) Development Projects: Where members of the community could help in various ways in developing school projects or where the school could help the community in developing their projects. Help could be in the form of labour, raising funds etc.

From the above, it would appear that there are several ways in which school and community links can be strengthened. However the success of a good and compatible relationship of a school and its community will also depend on whether policies at both central and local level exist to encourage such links. Moreover strong links will also depend on whether the concerned parties find such an objective desirable or acceptable.

### **2.2.3 The Community School Curriculum**

Thompson (1983:6) notes that in Africa, attempts were being made as early as 1847 to make Western Education more relevant to the colonies' needs. Practical subjects were being introduced in 1881 in Sierra Leone and 1882 in the Gold Coast. In India too, similar attempts had been started between the 1880's and 1900. Despite these local attempts, it was only after the First World War that initiatives on a wider scale were actually taken.

Two Phelps-Stokes missions were commissioned to Africa by the British Government who as a consequence, produced a memo on Education in Tropical Africa in 1925. The Belgium Government too soon came out with a report on the Congo. According to Lillis and Sinclair (1980:21-36) the emphasis in all these cases was on Agriculture and Vocational Education as related to the needs of the communities (see also Turner, J. 1968:29).

But the pendulum swung away from the search for relevance when Educational Planners and Economists decided that the best way for Third World countries to achieve the success of Industrialized countries was to emulate their education systems. This meant increasing educational opportunity with an emphasis on the formal academic aspects of education. This of course was still in the pre-independence era of these countries.

Thus, in the 1950's and 60's, education was viewed as the central process to achieve not only economic development but political and social development as well. Emphasis was on the quantitative expansion of educational programmes with little or no consideration for their contents or relevance (see Curle, 1970; Coombs and Ahmed, 1973; Blaug, 1980; Bray, Clarke and Stephens, 1986; Bacchus, 1988). Such was the belief in formal education, that Education Ministers from many African countries at a meeting in Addis Ababa in 1961, decided to set their targets on achieving Universal Primary Education (U.P.E.) by 1980.



But, when many countries realized that this goal could not be achieved, the concept of U.P.E. was broadened to cover the new notion of basic education and which according to Hawes, (1978) had implications for curriculum reforms. Thus, the pendulum has swung back to the search for relevance of education programmes. A concern that was accentuated by increasing rates of school leaver unemployment and low economic growth rates in the modern sector, (Bray et al 1986).

In this respect Bude 1985:17) notes that in many African countries, where new policies for more suitable education are being considered, particular emphasis is being placed on the cooperation between the school and community. He goes on to say:-

Active participation between school and community and even in non-school sectors was meant to underline the fact that the school was seeking to orientate itself towards the requirements of the majority of the population ... and in the past decade, this has met with increasing support.

A conference of African Ministers held in Lagos in 1976, clearly showed the importance of the role accorded to the local communities in primary school reforms. This was followed by another in Harare in 1982 and a recent one in Gaborone in 1985. (See UNESCO 1982, Commonwealth Secretariat 1985; Bray 1987; Bude 1985).

Both Bude (1985) and Thompson (1983) caution that reforms in the curriculum process should not be seen as confined to particular areas, thereby creating 'double standards', otherwise these attempts will be clearly rejected.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Martin (1984:85) contends that if community schools are seen by rural households as second rated schools serving the interests of other social classes, the community schools will be resisted.

---

<sup>1</sup> See also King (1976)

Furthermore Bude (1985:19) contends that:

... a community oriented school can contribute towards rural development in Black Africa only if its performance and achievements are better than those of the traditional, academically oriented primary school and if it finds sufficient demands for its services to improve living conditions. Only under such circumstances will parents and pupils be ready to change their attitudes and accept the extended role of the school.

However, even though 'community school' implies a curriculum related to local economy, parents will look at the trade-offs to decide whether they should send their children to the 'new' schools or not. The attitude of education leading to a paid job will take a long time to change and so new programmes that attempt to change this attitude will be regarded with a high level of skepticism. In addition community schools in Africa have not yet shown real reforms and improvements beyond the lip-service paid to their pseudo-reforms.

King (1976) cautions that the idea of a community-centred curriculum could be quite unpopular especially where it means a different one for rural schools as opposed to urban schools following a more academic oriented curriculum. Martin (1984:85) contends that if the community schools are seen by rural households as coming from and serving the interests of other social classes than themselves, the community schools will be resisted. However he mentions the view taken by Houghton and Tregear (1969) that the combination of learning practical subject matter and general academic learning offers a possible new approach.

This is the view also shared by the N.C.E. about the needs of the C.J.S.S.'s. They say that the task of the secondary school curriculum is to 'provide a wide basis for life, further training and work which implies studies from a number of different curriculum areas for all pupils (1977:108). They emphasize several changes, that are examined at the beginning of Chapter Seven.

#### **2.2.4 The Role of Teachers in Schools and in Community Development**

According to Dove (1980b:10), it is widely recognized throughout the commonwealth that teacher involvement in the curriculum development process is important. Dove further says that a steady improvement in the levels of education and training of teachers should enable them to make a significant contribution to every phase of curriculum development from planning and implementation to evaluation. However, Dove notes that in most countries, the main contribution from teachers when it occurs, is in the actual devising of syllabi contents and instructional aids. Very few countries emphasize the role of the teacher in the curriculum evaluation process. This latter role is normally regarded as an activity that requires special training which unfortunately most basic teacher training programmes do not offer. This without doubt, is a grave deficiency because the teacher should be able to evaluate his material even if it is only superficial, in order to make a meaningful and effective contribution.

Lauglo (1982), Bude (1982) and Dove (1982a and b) all indicate that there is a limit to what the teacher can do over and above his "core" teaching task. Bude further says that teachers are seldom trained for various activities such as curriculum reforms or even community work and that attempts to use the school and teachers as spearheads of rural development is in turn dependant on whether the school reform is oriented towards the French model of 'animateur rurale' or the British model of 'community development' (see Appendix 6).

It has been argued that teachers are sometimes caught up in role conflicts between serving the government, the school or the community. This too may be one reason why teachers may not want to be involved in curriculum development activities or in community development work (Watson, 1981). It can also be argued that teachers are not attracted to rural areas and may be frustrated and thus not interested in their work. The concept of 'rural' area' can be vague and misleading. In Botswana, there are traditional rural towns and these may almost have all the amenities of a modern town. On the other hand

there are remote rural villages which might not even have such basic necessities as piped water.

According to Dove (1980b) teacher training institutions can be an important locus of teacher participation in curriculum development. She points to developments in Papua New Guinea, Tanzania, Swaziland, Barbados, Guyana, Granada and Togo. Teacher trainees in these countries have been involved either in developing the school subjects or in the curriculum evaluation. In Malaysia and Fiji, teacher-trainers are also involved in the development of curriculum materials at Pre-service and In-service levels.

But what proportion have been involved? Are they doing this extra work as part of their job descriptions or is it a genuine commitment on their parts? What are the incentives to get them to do additional work? In some of these countries, the teacher trainers are expected to help on National Curriculum Committees. A few get involved because they see an alternative way to change their job descriptions, or to get promoted or even a chance to go for further training.

One of the main recommendations of the Cammaerts (1981) report that was adopted was to have a separate teacher training institute for the C.J.S.S. The N.C.E. (1977) had also recommended this on efficiency grounds which may be questionable. In the past, all secondary school teachers were trained at the University of Botswana. Three courses were available. One was mainly for inservice teachers and the other two were for pre-service teachers.

First, after the C.O.S.C. exam, a student could enrol for a teachers Diploma in Secondary Education (D.S.E.). This is a three year course with either a Science/Maths bias or a Humanities/Arts bias. The Humanities course has now been discontinued because of the Molepolole programme.

Although the D.S.E. students were being trained to teach at the junior secondary school level most of them have been teaching courses up to the O-level or senior secondary level due to teacher shortages. The second course is a Bachelors in Education (B.Ed) degree which is now only offered as an in-

service advance course for the old D.S.E. students. Initially it was offered as a pre-service degree programme straight after 'O' levels. Third, there is the Post Graduate Diploma in Education (P.G.D.E.) which is a one year course for students who hold an undergraduate degree. The B.Ed and P.G.D.E. graduates may teach in a senior secondary school or even in a primary teacher training college.

There is a need to carefully examine the role of teachers in the C.J.S.S. and in particular, to see whether their training prepares them for any role(s) in community development work.

#### 2.2.5 The Finance and Management of Community Schools

Bordea (1983) and Yannakopulos (1980) mention three aspects of community participation:-

- (i) In the educational management at regional and local level.
- (ii) In the decision-making process at the institutional level.
- (iii) In the form of local support i.e. financing.

The three aspects tend to be closely related. In fact (ii) and (iii) should have been sub-items of (i) however all three aspects tend to be pertinent to the Botswana case as we will show later. It has already been noted earlier, that community participation as a decentralized activity both in school finance and management has recently become an important issue in many countries. However in order to understand the reasons of this concern it is necessary to look at the concept of decentralization in more detail.

#### 2.2.5.1 Centralization/Decentralization

As Holmes (1985) notes, there has been a conceptual change since the writings of Kandel (1933), when centralization and decentralization were regarded as the two fixed points along a continuum and education systems were classified as one or the other. According to Conyers (1983) and Bray (1984), as the analysis of systems becomes more refined, it becomes more evident that systems which may be more decentralized in some respects (e.g. implementation) could be more centralized in others e.g. policy making, thus making the categorization more difficult than it would appear at first.

Conyers and Hills (1984:216) note that development planning was seen basically as a centralized activity in the 1950's and 60's when it first gained importance. Planning was conducted by a central agency located in the national capital where all planning activities were carried out. The physical planning machinery tended to be centralized too. Conyers and Hills (1984) further note that this central tendency can be partly explained by the shortage of manpower. Furthermore, in the case of development planning, attention is focussed on the management of the national economy which being a macro economic kind of activity, requires strong central control. In general, for many countries at the time of independence, the tendency was to centralize control.

#### 2.2.5.2 Problems with Centralization:—

Growth with equity policies that were adopted in many countries highlighted the inconsistencies between central control over planning and administration and the widespread participation and equitable distribution of benefits they were attempting to generate (Rondinelli and Cheema 1983). Disillusionment also evolved from the growing realization among policy analysts during the 80's that as societies become more complex and governments' activities expand it is increasingly difficult to plan and administer development activities effectively and efficiently from the centre. In addition, Lauglo and McLean (1985) identify

several arguments against centralization namely that it is slow and cumbersome; it creates barriers e.g. for specialized personnel in a school, it creates passive uniformity and that local autonomy is associated with dynamic innovation. Moreover, in recent years there have been reactions against centralization of planning and decision-making which has resulted in a variety of efforts to decentralize political, administrative and planning systems. Before we look at the reasons for this change and interest in decentralization, we need to examine the meaning of this concept.

#### 2.2.5.3 Decentralization

Decentralization is a way of increasing the effectiveness of development programmes by making them more relevant and responsive to local needs and conditions allowing greater flexibility in their implementation and providing a means of conducting the various agencies involved at the regional at local level (Conyers, 1983). Cheema and Rondinelli (1983), define the term to mean the transfer of planning, decision-making or administrative authority from the central government to its field organizations, local administrative units, semi autonomous and parastatal organisations, local governments or non-government organisations. Different forms of decentralization can be distinguished primarily by the extent to which authority to plan, decide and manage is transferred from the central government to other organizations and the amount of autonomy the decentralized organizations have achieved in carrying out that task. However the process is not as smooth as it may appear in these definitions as will be discussed later. There are a lot of obstacles in implementing decentralization or decentralized policies. But in general the concept entails a shift in decision making power and administrative activities from the central authority to a certain number of regional bodies and offices carrying out educational activities at that level. What has caused the resurging

interest in decentralization? Is it a swing towards a desirable goal or is it just another alternative?

#### 2.2.5.4 Current Interest in Decentralization

During the last decade, there has been a growing interest in decentralization among most Third World Countries in Africa, Asia and the South Pacific. This has been paralleled by an even greater interest by international development agencies, bilateral aid donors and academic circles and these include UNESCO, ILO, USAID and the Commonwealth Secretariat (Bray 1984, Conyers 1983, Williams 1986). According to Yannakopoulos (1980) Recommendation No. 72, through its adoption, the 37th international conference in education expressed the interest of UNESCO's member states to improve the management of education systems. This document shows countries willing to improve their education systems through increased decentralization of administration and greater participation of local communities in education. These above mentioned reasons for decentralization would make it appear that countries are being pulled towards decentralization by a trend that is set mainly by the big international organizations. However, in most countries, decentralization is also seen as a way of improving the efficiency of planning and management within the central bureaucracy and was often enforced in reaction to the 'stultifying slowness' with which central ministries responded to pressing social and economic problems (Cheema and Rondinelli, 1983:296). Further, the desire to increase popular participation in the planning and implementation of development programmes is partly sought as (a) a means of making plans more relevant to local needs; (b) an end in itself; (c) more currently, a concern for more direct popular participation in the decision-making process particularly on the part of the mass of rural people who have received little or no benefits as a result of earlier approaches to development. By this contention Conyers (1983) argues that there is a felt need by those in power to



help those at the receiving end. However it is still not clear from the use of the above type of rhetorical statements, what kinds of decisions, issues and the level at which the ordinary people should be actually involved in. The different types and levels of decentralization are described further on.

According to Mawhood (1983:251), to a large extent the impulse towards decentralization or a centralizing swing has depended over time upon the climate of thought. Newly independent governments in the 60's were eager to change the colonial style local government because it was a colonial institution. The central planning model of the sixties took second place in the seventies to a package of norms related to decentralization. The actual experiences of countries diverge in terms of the pendulum swing. Most African countries as Mawhood shows can be arranged in two groups viz:- (i) where the regime was changed by a coup d'état as in Ghana, Nigeria, the Sudan and Nigeria. In these countries, the formal structures were dramatically altered through legislation swinging between more centralized and more locally representative types; (ii) Where there was no change to the regime after independence and a strong continuity with pre-independence administrative structures preserved as in Cameroon, Kenya and Botswana which is discussed in more detail later on. In this case, the pendulum swung similarly but its movement was more restricted. Local elite groups were balanced by central elite groups. Consequently a fairly stable type of local administrative prevailed in the form of local government but always under powerful influence from the centre. What is common in both groups of countries is that their governments look for the benefits of popular participation in some form and conceive of decentralized government as a means of achieving it. The point worth noting here is that a regime hopes for the advantages of decentralization without paying the costs of powersharing.

One of the most crucial debates in the developing world according to Cheema and Rondinelli (1983:7) is about the degree of control that central governments can and should have over the development strategy changed over the past two decades. New questions have emerged about the most appropriate forms of planning and administering development policies in many of the developing countries - a view shared by others such as Conyers and Hills (1984).

With specific references to education, Yannakopoulos (1980:1) says that for most countries continued expansion and inherent inefficiency of central educational management provoked the need for greater involvement of the regime and local bodies in the administration of individual schools. With regards to schools, Morris (1986:5) identifies the purpose of decentralization as being to facilitate creative school financing practices, promote a well balanced distribution of materials, and to encourage support for the most disadvantaged children. These objectives do sound a bit ambitious and are not always implemented as the Botswana study will show.

#### 2.2.5.5 Forms of Decentralization

For a more detailed discussion see Bray 1985; Cheema and Rondinelli 1983; Mawhood 1983; Conyers and Hills 1984; Lauglo and McLean 1985.

Different forms of decentralization can be distinguished primarily by the extent to which authority to plan, decide and manage is transferred from the central government to other organizations and the amount of autonomy the decentralized organizations achieved in carrying out their tasks.

i) DECONCENTRATION involves the redistribution of administrative responsibilities to local administrative units only within the central government. This involves shifting of workload from central government ministry or agency headquarters to its own field staff located in offices outside the national capital

without also transferring to them the authority to make decisions or to exercise discretion in carrying them out.

ii) DELEGATION of decision making and management involves the transfer of functions to regional or functional development organizational authorities that are not under the direct control of central government ministries. Powers basically still rest with the central authority but are 'given' to the local authority. However the government can withdraw these powers by merely making an official announcement or proclamation.

iii) DEVOLUTION seeks to create or strengthen independent levels or units of government. Through devolution the government relinquishes certain functions or creates new units of government that are outside its direct control and may include states, provinces, district or municipalities. Decentralization is considered to have been furthest when powers are devolved. In this cases powers are specifically transferred to these sub-national bodies by law. But it is important to note that systems may be administratively devolved without being politically devolved.

iv) TRANSFER TO NON-GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS involves shifting responsibilities for activities from the public sector to private or quasi-public organizations that are not part of the government structure. This process is also referred to as privatization. Most authors however only refer to the first three as they lie within the government structures.

Before we set out to discuss the school management in the C.J.S.S. we need to examine the concept in a wider perspective.

#### 2.2.6 Educational Management as a Decentralized Activity

According to Hoyle (1986:13) for Britain and Europe, past concern for school management in general has not been of as great concern as in North America. In these countries as well as those Third World countries to which colonial systems of education have been exported, school heads i.e. head-

masters/mistresses or principals have not had any training in management. Worst still, the proponents of these education systems have no expectations for such specialized training. Hoyle notes further:

Experience as a teacher plus certain personal qualities diffuse and undefined have been regarded as sufficient for the successful head.

According to Hurst (1988), the last two decades have seen a steady growth of concern in the management training in these countries. Various courses based on management and innovation theories have been introduced. It is important to note that there is a dearth both in training courses and institutions for training of 'educational managers'. However in the thesis we will not be looking at the various management theories in relation to school heads as our concern here is the broader aspect of management by school boards.

According to Bray (1988) different school systems use different names for institutional management bodies. In Anglophone countries these are known as Boards of Management, Governing Councils, School Committees or Boards of Governors. Anderson (1973:36) defines such bodies as official bodies that negotiate with government authorities, local councils, local chiefs and government administrators in all matters concerning the school.

In conjunction with headteachers, these bodies, may in some instances determine the type of support of parents for the school arranging work days for repairing buildings, digging latrines, collection of funds for building repairs etc. The boards also have to keep parents informed on all matters of the school, arrange open days/parents' days; call Parents Teachers Association meetings; inform teachers and head masters about the views of parents on how the schools should be run. Moreover they have to account both to governments and to the public, for the funds raised and how these have been used.

In Papua New Guinea, primary schools are called Community Schools and are managed by Boards of Management (Bray, 1988), similar to their Harambee counterparts in Kenya. Bray further notes that some boards work better than others because of factors linked to individual schools, committees, head

teachers and local or provincial governments. He also notes that in some systems e.g. Zambia, head teachers remain directly accountable to the central government authorities.

Rondinelli (1983) and Ornstein (1982) in writing about decentralization and school management mention the problem that community representation on board members can serve the interests of their own social class. Ornstein further notes that these people may not be informed enough to function efficiently on the boards and are vulnerable to nepotism. It should be noted that his arguments are based on studies in New York City and may therefore not be applicable elsewhere. He further shows that community participation was most accepted on school financing i.e. by means of local taxation; but least in personnel matters which were most guarded by school administrators.

With regards to partnership in the running of community schools, Bolam and Pratt (1976) see participation in decision making as an effective way of school management. But they recognize that it can be problematic because the community representatives on governing boards may not have the knowledge, competence or the desire to make major decisions about important organizational changes. Furthermore Lillis and Sinclair (1980:40) show from studies in rural schools in Mexico, that the partnership between the government and the community was a failure because of the lack of parental interest. This raises the obvious questions about who decides on changes and how they are implemented. It also raises the questions of whether the changes are desirable and if people are willing to accept them. Mawhood (1971) is also skeptical about choosing as representatives, people, who lack motivation, expertise and are therefore uninterested in basic policy issues.

The management of the community schools in Botswana lies in the hands of local Boards of Governors that have half membership of locally elected members and the other half of ex-officio members representing the Local Government and Central Administration. According to the N.C.E. (1977) the

B.O.G.'s will make the new C.J.S.S. different from the senior government secondary schools in that they will have stronger links with their communities. This remains to be seen. In addition Swartland and Taylor (1988) note that the B.O.G. 's are one of the factors that make the new 'partnership schools', community schools. The management of C.J.S.S. is looked at in Chapter Eight.

### 2.2.7 School Financing and Decentralization

We have already noted in Chapter Two that one of the main reasons for the current interest in community participation in many Third World countries is due to the contributions that communities are making in the financing and building of schools at the local level.

Most governments are under intense pressure to restrain education budgets, yet they have persistent calls for increasing expenditure — this is one reason for the widespread interest in alternative sources of funding, particularly from the communities since some of these have shown themselves capable of quite spectacular fund-raising (Commonwealth Secretariat Report, 1985:1).

Apart from financial constraints on the part of governments Bray (1985; 1986), and Yannakopoulos (1980), Lewin (1988) mention other reasons for the importance of local support to education. First, local support is regarded as a means of making the local community take an interest in education. The argument here is that if people are actually financing, even if it's only part of the education costs, they will tend to show some interest in it. Second, local support is regarded as a means of ensuring that the school is sensitive to the needs of the community. This means that there will be a stronger link which will be reciprocal rather than just one way. Third, local support is regarded as having profound psychological effects upon the community, leading to a changed view of the relationship between local needs and government responses. What does experience in other countries show?

According to Rondinelli (1983:187), in Sri Lanka attempts to promote widespread distribution of development activities were based on a strong belief that popular participation is required. But participation was not perceived as direct public participation in the decision making process, but rather as an instrument for mobilizing support from the people for specific projects. In Guyana Paul, Hamilton and Williams (1986) note that communities tend to assist more in the functioning of the schools than in the active financing of construction projects. Construction of schools is both expensive and highly technical and therefore not always a suitable area for community participation. On a day to day basis however, there are some groups in most communities such as the Parents Teachers Association (P.T.A.); Boards of Governors/Management and old student associations which provide invaluable help in ensuring the smooth functioning of schools. The type of activities range from fencing school compounds, repairs to buildings, digging pit latrines, furniture making and repairs, providing custodial care and security services, and constructing and clearing pitches for various sports. The methods of financing include sale of foods, self-help labour, raising funds through concerts, parties and competitions and other shows.

According to Carron and Châu (1984:17) in the context of severe financial constraints which are a feature of many countries, wider access to education requires the mobilization of new resources. A measure frequently employed is calling on the social communities to take the initiative in the financing of education. As shown by the Harambee schools in Kenya, this policy can undoubtedly have some positive effects on the overall growth of the system but it does not necessarily lead to a reduction in disparities (Bray and Lillis, 1988).

The C.J.S.S. partnership venture entails both local management and some local financing initiatives by the communities. School finance and management in the C.J.S.S. are examined in Chapter Eight.

### **2.3.0 THE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS: CURRENT INTEREST**

According to Bude (1985:30-31), the concept of the school and community being more integrated especially in the context of rural development has been advocated for many years by such international organizations as UNESCO and the I.L.O. The results of which can be demonstrated by various attempts in primary school reforms in many African countries particularly in the following areas:-

- (i) Stronger links between schools and their communities.
- (ii) More relevant curricula.
- (iii) The extended role of the teacher in organizing development projects to improve the standard of living in the community.

Similarly in the Botswana context, the N.C.E. (1977:100-120) has recommended that the C.J.S.S. should inter alia incorporate all the above mentioned reforms.

### **2.4.0 TOWARDS AN IDEAL-TYPICAL COMMUNITY SCHOOL**

From the general review of literature presented above, the following characteristics of the community school emerge:

- a) A community school means a school for a particular community within which the school is based. The community is a well defined entity. The school is meant to serve that community.
- b) A community school has strong links with its community; and it plays an important role in that community's development. It also becomes the focal point for various community activities and functions.
- c) The curriculum of a community school reflects the needs of that particular community. Furthermore the community decides on what should be taught, the time-tabling, goals and objectives of that school.



- d) The role of teachers extends beyond normal classroom and school activities. Teachers are involved in community development work and are sometimes initiators of rural programmes.
- e) Local management means that communities are in full control of their schools. They not only own them but also control decision-making. Thus, local management involves decentralization of school ownership and decision making.

These characteristics above depict an ideal type. According to Weber:-

The 'ideal type' refers to the construction of certain element of reality into a logically precise conception. The term 'ideal' has nothing to do with evaluations of any sort. It also does not mean that the 'ideal' is exemplary or should be imitated as representative of an 'ideal' way of life. (c.f. Gerth and Mills, 1970:59).

We can use the above mentioned characteristics of the 'ideal' for critically examining the concept of the C.J.S.S. It is worth noting that the 'ideal type' is a utopia and according to Weber, "In its conceptual purity, this mental construct cannot be found empirically anywhere in reality." Thus, no one country depicts all the characteristics mentioned above. Furthermore, an impression must not be created that all these characteristics should be part of a community school's aims.

## 2. 5.0 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Botswana Government has recently embarked on a new policy to achieve the universalization of junior secondary schooling i.e. nine years basic education for all by the mid 1990s. It is intended that this policy goal will be achieved through joint partnership between the government and various communities in building and managing schools. The programme entails the erecting of classrooms, libraries and some staff houses by the government on the one hand, and the communities contribution of building the remainder of staff houses, a kitchen, dining hall and toilets. At first, the communities have to provide land and also elect a local Board of Governors to manage the school

before the school can be built.<sup>2</sup> The schools are known as Community Junior Secondary Schools (C.J.S.S.).

The central problem is to understand and describe the meaning of community schooling in Botswana in relation to the new partnership venture between the government and the communities. The central problem of the thesis has five aspects that are described below in the form of objectives.

#### 2.5.1 The Research Objectives

- (a) Our first objective is to examine the meaning of community schooling in the context of Botswana. In particular, we want to see if there is compatibility between what the government has set out to do and what the communities want. We would also like to see if the new C.J.S.S. are the same throughout the country in terms of inputs such as trained teachers, school buildings, laboratory equipment, furnished libraries, intake level of students; as well as outputs i.e. performance in terms of results.
- (b) The second research objective is to establish the links between the schools and their communities. To see if the schools are reaching out to their communities and vice versa in terms of shared resources; social services, leadership roles and development projects.
- (c) Third, to examine the relevance of the C.J.S.S. curriculum and in particular, to see whether the new nine year programme attempts to bridge the gap between the primary and junior secondary levels. There is also a need to see if all schools are offering the same subjects and whether differences in subject offerings makes some schools more favourable than others. It is important to determine if any problems exist in the offering of practical subjects. There is a need to see if schools have a choice in deciding which subjects they would like to offer. It is also necessary to know the views of parents, teachers, students and other concerned parties about the

---

<sup>2</sup> Education Act 1985 (draft); National Development Plan, N.D.P.VI, 1986:125.

curriculum in the C.J.S.S. and the specific roles these groups play in the development, implementation and evaluation of the curriculum.

- (d) The fourth objective will be to examine the role of teachers both in the schools as well as in their respective communities. There is also a need to see if there is any compatibility in the teacher training programme and that of the C.J.S.S. curriculum. Furthermore, to see if any models of teacher training such as the 'animateur rurale' are being ascribed to.
- (e) The fifth objective seeks to determine the role of community participation in the finance and management of schools. In particular, to see whether communities accept their roles both in the short and long terms of the partnership venture. There is a need to see if communities have the necessary finances or resources to sustain their contributions in the long term. There is also a need to see what kind of decision-making lies in the hands of the communities.

#### **2.6.0 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY**

The new 9 year programme with particular reference to the provision of the 3 years junior secondary education offered in the Community Junior Secondary Schools (C.J.S.S.) has just begun. Though the origins of the policy can be traced to one of the recommendations of the National Commission on Education Report 1976/77, the actual implementation started in 1986.

So, the programme is new and prone to further change in terms of policy formulation and implementation. This in itself makes the task of the researcher a difficult one as one has to be constantly aware of whatever changes are taking place. To give a few examples, the regulations for the Boards of Governors (B.O.G.) have been under review since the inception of the C.J.S.S. programme. The regulations were first drafted in 1976; and in 1985 a new set of draft regulations were released. In 1986 when this research study was first undertaken, the regulations had not yet been finalised. Second, the Minister of

Education had made an official announcement that from 1988, school fees for junior secondary education would be abolished. With regards to this, a lot of people were not sure what the real implications would be for the C.J.S.S. In other words, there was a state of confusion about the present conditions in the C.J.S.S. and especially about their future. During my field study in 1986, Botswana was celebrating her 20th Anniversary of Independence, the Government decided to make this a big, ceremonious occasion. A special Twentieth Anniversary Celebrations Unit (T.A.I.C.U.) had been set up to coordinate various activities for the celebrations at national, central and local level. Many government officials and local people at all levels were involved. This factor did have some effect on the study as interviewees were not always available for interviews.

The C.J.S.S. is new and so has attracted much research both by the government itself and by other researchers. Some of the M.Ed students of the University of Botswana were, during 1986, busy formulating research proposals on various aspects of the C.J.S.S. There was one study which was at an advanced stage entitled 'The impact of the C.J.S.S. on various communities'. The researchers aimed to evaluate the impact the new C.J.S.S. had on three village communities. The focus was on 'attitudes'.

Another important research project entitled 'Junior Secondary Education Improvement Project' (J.S.E.I.P.) was set up by the Ministry of Education and a consortium of American Universities together with the U.S. Aid-Agency for International Development. J.S.E.I.P. was specially set up to help in various aspects of the new programme e.g. in training teachers and headmasters, in designing the new curriculum. J.S.E.I.P. had also set up various research studies the most notable one being 'Strengthening Local Education Project' which aims to evaluate the potential for local resource management.

All these research projects meant the field was 'hot' with activities. Interviewees were getting a little impatient about being asked what may have been similar questions by different people over a short span of time!

#### 2.7.0 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

From an international perspective, decentralization of Educational Administration as a field of study is becoming increasingly important in the literature. There has been a pendulum swinging many Third World countries from the centralized model of the 60's and 70's towards decentralization. Botswana appears to be following this trend. Is the government 'passing the buck' by giving the management responsibility to the communities? Is decentralization being regarded as a panacea? What are the problems in implementing decentralized policies? The resurgence of community schools and the interest in them by International agencies such as UNESCO and the World Bank also gives impetus to the study.

According to Watson (1978:2) it is a worrying thought that research interest in the need for greater participation between schools and community may be just another addition to the steadily growing stockpile of Third World education 'panaceas'. It would be interesting to see what kinds of problems have arisen over the years from the experiences of other countries that have attempted such ventures. Does Botswana have any lessons to learn? Or is Botswana different in the making?

The study is of topical interest to various cadres of people in Botswana that are involved in policy making, decision making, curriculum planning, development, implementation and evaluation, government officials as well as general educationalists and researchers both local and in the international arena.

## **2.8.0 DEFINITION OF TERMS:-**

**2.8.1 Decentralization:** usually refers to a transfer of decision making powers from higher levels in an official hierarchy to lower ones. There are different types/levels of Decentralization viz Deconcentration, Delegation and Devolution. (Bray, 1985; Cheema, 1983; Rondinelli, 1983; Conyers, 1983).

**2.8.2 Deconcentration:** A process in which a central authority creates regional offices in different parts of the country e.g. at district/province level. The staff is both appointed by and represents the central authority. It is a process through which a central authority gains greater control over the peripheral parts of the country.

**2.8.3 Delegation:** A greater degree of decision-making at local level (powers still basically rest with the central authority). The central government can withdraw powers by merely making an official announcement.

**2.8.4 Devolution:** Decentralization is considered to have been taken furthest when powers are devolved. In this case, powers are officially or specifically transferred to sub-national bodies by law. The central organization/ authority relinquishes a decision making role.

**2.8.5 Community:** A group of people who share social, economic and cultural interests. Its members recognize social obligations to each other and hold at least some common values, and identify each other as 'we', and might include the following types and examples: (a) A Geographic Community; (b) Ethnic, racial or religious communities; (c) Communities based on common occupation or experience. A geographic community is probably the most common community conception and may refer to all the

individuals living in a village, rural district or urban suburbs which are small geographic areas (Williams, Commonwealth Report 1985:1-2).

**2.8.6 Community Schools:** Schools that are partly or fully built through community initiatives, finance and labour through self-help/self reliance schemes. These schools may also have the following characteristics (a) a relevant curriculum related to the needs of that community; (b) stronger links between the school and its community; (c) the teachers will be involved in organizing various development projects to improve the standard of living in the country.

**2.8.7 Community Junior Secondary Schools:** In the Botswana context these are schools that are built through a partnership venture between the government and the community where government provides the school with classrooms, laboratories, an administrative block and a library. The community builds the kitchen area, dining hall, some of the staff houses, and hires ancillary staff. The community is also expected to elect local representatives for the Board of Governors who together with a few ex-officio government representatives are responsible for the management of the school, maintenance and recurrent expenditure.

#### **2.9.0 SUMMARY**

This chapter highlights the conceptual framework that will be used for the analysis. The importance given to community participation in the development of education both by governments and international organizations is discussed. Decision making at the local level is one aspect of community participation and it also demonstrates some form of decentralized activity. However, the concept of decentralization can be vague, as shown in the discussion. Several issues

are raised and discussed for example can decentralization really increase effectiveness, administrative efficiency or local participation?

Community participation also plays an important role in the building and financing of schools especially at current austerity times when many governments face acute shortages of finance. Community financing is thus seen as a potential, viable option. Botswana is a good case study for examining the problems and issues discussed above, under community participation.

From the literature on community schooling an 'ideal typical' construct was derived, and the research objectives formulated. These objectives are: (a) to determine the meaning of community schooling in the context of Botswana; (b) to see what links between the schools and their respective communities have been established; (c) to examine the relevance of the C.J.S.S. curriculum; (d) to assess the role of the teachers both in their schools as well as in their communities; (e) to examine the role of communities in school finance and management. These five objectives help explore the meaning of community schooling in Botswana. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, international organizations such as UNESCO have emphasized these above mentioned areas as possible ways through which the school and community links can be developed. The literature review discusses a variety of issues and problems identified under each objective. It would be difficult to explore all of these points in detail. The objectives should not be seen as separate entities as they are inter-related. They all focus on the Community Junior Secondary Schools. Particular emphasis will be placed on examining the role of community participation under each objective.

According to Thompson (1983:11) many attempts have been made to strengthen the school and community links. However the area of local management and community participation in the decision making seem to be those areas that show most potential for developing the school and community links. The Botswana case study will also focus on this area.



Finally an attempt will be made to see if there are any positive effects from the way in which community resources are used to supplement government ones. Lillis (1988) contends that there is a strong likelihood that there will be a positive effect in strengthening the school and community links from such a move. This will hopefully give us insights into the dynamics of community participation.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION IN BOTSWANA: FOCUS ON COMMUNITY INITIATIVES**

#### **3.0.0 INTRODUCTION**

The origins of Western education in Botswana date as far back as 1847 in the pre-colonial era, to the missionary David Livingstone. The colonial government gave low priority to education for Africans in the region as a whole. In Botswana, it can be argued that they were determined not to allow the expansion of education for the Batswana. Throughout the pre-colonial and colonial era even up to the contemporary times, religious organizations have made a significant contribution to the development of education. However it is the communities that have played the most significant role throughout the entire period. Community based education in the 'true' sense dates back to the pre-colonial times before the introduction of Western education. This chapter sets out to examine the development of education in Botswana. In particular the chapter first looks at the traditional forms of education before Western education was introduced. Second, the role of the missionaries, the colonial government and the local communities in the development and provision of schools is closely examined. Third, the chapter looks at the development of education in the post independence era and notes in particular the role of communities.

#### **3.1.0 THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE ERA**

##### **3.1.1 Traditional Forms of Education:**

Traditional education was part of a whole system of belief together with being a way of socializing children into the accepted values and norms of society and preparing them for their later adult roles. On the other hand, Western education too by definition has similar aims and objectives. Traditional education consists of both a formal and an informal aspect. With regards to the latter, Parsons (1984:22-23) argues that in the case of Botswana, traditional Batswana education is more fully described than the education of other

Botswana peoples albeit generalizations can be made about all Botswana people.

The formal aspect of Botswana education was initially community based and characterized by Bojale and Bogwera adolescent initiation schools for females and males respectively. But as the Tswana states expanded, these were organized periodically by the state with the political purpose of producing age-regiments which would bind together members of the whole nation.

Bojale according to Schapera (1934:22) consisted of 'formal instruction in matters conceiving womanhood, domestic and agricultural activities, sex and behaviour towards men'. The skills that were learnt by the women include sewing, cooking, carving mortars, making hoe handles and weaving beads. The end result was that women qualified for motherhood and marriage. Bogwera was usually conducted away from the village in a special bush-camp. Boys learnt special skills such as hunting, tending livestock, making shields and spears. At the end, the boys had to undergo a circumcision ceremony under the supervision of a Ngaka (traditional priest cum doctor). Both boys and girls were taught folklore, songs, poetry and various other aspects of culture. After the initiation ceremonies boys were regarded as young men and girls as young women.

Traditional education was thus a true form of community education based on the various needs of a particular community and involving the community for its provision. However, with the advent of Western education and Christianity, traditional education was slowly phased out for various reasons e.g. conflicts between the Church and traditional beliefs.

### 3.1.2 Introduction of Western Education:

According to Jennings:

The History of Native Education in Southern Africa is the history of the South African Missionaries for it is entirely due to the efforts of the

missionaries that the natives of Southern Africa received any education at all<sup>1</sup>

This is also true for Botswana, where the introduction of Western education before the colonial era was entirely in the hands of the missionaries.

The first primary school for the Batswana was established at Kuruman in 1324, a London Missionary Society (L.M.S.) mission station where the Reverend Robert Moffat and his contemporaries were based. Thema (1947:6)<sup>2</sup> notes that the L.M.S. had a broader ideal than just preaching and teaching about the bible, namely that of education. Thus, many of the evangelists/pioneers turned out at Kuruman and sent out to the then British Protectorate of Bechuanaland (B.P.) either as evangelists or as teachers were imbued with the society's broader education interests and ideals. However since Kuruman lay outside the B.P.'s borders there was a need to build a school inside the country. So the first primary school was built inside present day Botswana boundary in 1847 by David Livingstone in Chonoane somewhere in the Bakwena Reserve not too far from the present district capital of Molepolole. But this school was shortly moved to Kolobeng, which is situated near Gaborone, because the Bakwena had moved from their previous settlement places.

Other church groups that followed in the footsteps of the L.M.S., were the Hermansburg Missionary Society, and the Dutch Reformed Church. The latter was based in Mochudi amongst the Bakgatla and the former concentrated its efforts among the Bamalete of Ramotswa and the Bakwena of Kweneng. Later, other church groups such as the Church of the Province of South Africa, the Wesleyan Church, the Roman Catholic Church and the Seventh Day Adventists also contributed to the educational development of Botswana.

---

<sup>1</sup> See Loram, C.T. as quoted in Thema, B.C. 1947:5; see also Watters, E.A. 1973:73 Ed.D. Thesis.

<sup>2</sup> The honourable Mr Thema became the first Minister of Education when Botswana attained her independence in 1966.

It is significant to mention that the various missionary and church organisations began to compete with one another in trying to establish themselves in various states in the B.P. They also competed for converts and for the chiefs' support which was an essential ingredient for preaching in their territories. Missionaries did take the lead in establishing early schools (Munger 1965:41).

### **3.2.0 THE COLONIAL ERA**

#### **3.2.1 The Role of the Colonial Government:**

According to Brian (1970:208) the proclamation of the protectorate in 1885 was a strategic move to block Boer intervention in the North which might seriously embarrass imperial intentions. Brian goes on to show the lack of interest the British showed for the B.P. and quotes the first High Commissioner for the territory as saying:-

We have no interest in the country North of the Molopo except as a road to the interior, we might therefore confine ourselves for the present to preventing that part of the territory being occupied either by fillibusters or foreign powers and doing little as possible in the way of administration (See also Watters 1973:73).

This was to prove typical of subsequent British policy towards the country and in fact only some years later Rhodes who was interested in a railway line through the B.P. to Bulawayo in Rhodesia, took for granted the surrender by the colonial office of their interest in this country to the British South Africa Company. It was only through the intervention by a delegation led by Chief Khama in 1895 and the ceding of land for the railway that the continuation of the Crown protection of Britain was assured.

Throughout the period of colonial rule in the B.P., the British gave lowest priority to the education of the native people. Perhaps the following quote by Halpern (1965:307) is pertinent:-

Educationally the Batswana are probably more backward than any other people in Africa which has been under British rule, they are challenged only by the Swazi for this dubious distinction.

In a letter from the Resident Commissioner addressed to the High Commissioner, he noted that the government via both native fund tax and the hut tax, had raised about £50,000 per annum. The contribution to education, the highest in one year given was £7,500 which was used for several things such as disease prevention, stock improvement and education. Besides, it was further noted that the Europeans who hardly paid tax were given three times as much money on their educational expenditure as compared to native education.<sup>3</sup> In addition Colclough (1980:29) notes that between 1900 and 1925, 37.1% of the Protectorate's expenditure went to the police, and while only 1.2% in the same period to education. In 1931/2 the administration provided no money at all out of general revenues for education for the education of 8,000 native children attending primary schools. It was recognition of such discriminatory policy of the colonial government amongst other things that started the Batswana to mobilize their own resources for educational development albeit their efforts were supplemented with missionary support as will be discussed later.

Thema (1947:18) contends that Botswana continued to be a 'colonial backwater' that attracted no capital and even less administrative talent. However the 20th century saw some changes in the history of native education namely a new office of the High Commissioner; an Education advisor; several reports and investigations.

In the first decade a report by Ellenburger, who started off as an Inspector for the region and later became the acting Resident Commissioner, noted several things of which the most important were (i) the amount of private effort by the Batswana in the development of education especially in the Bakgatla reserve; (ii) that the efforts of such natives who sacrificed so much for education should be given some recognition by government either through a grant or by

---

<sup>3</sup> Education in the B.P. (1934): Report - Inspector of Education; See in particular the letter from C.F. Rey, Resident Commissioner in Gaberones to H.E. the High Commissioner in Mafeking; Botswana National Archives: S/148/4.

supplying such equipment as slates, pencils and spelling books. This recommendation was heeded and in 1904, the first grant to the value of £600 was given towards native education.

In the same decade the James Burns Report (1904) was published on L.M.S. schools in the B.P. It had some interesting points on the territory as a whole. First, primary schools were in need of good management because they had poor records and poor time-tabling. Second, Batswana children led a nomadic life that affected their schooling. Third, there was a great scarcity of qualified and capable teachers. The Burns Report was important in that two decades later, a few attempts to overcome the problems identified, were made namely: (i) Short vacation courses for teachers were organized by Mr Dumbrell who became the Director of Education (see Thema, *ibid*; p.64) and ii) cattle post schools had also been suggested later and several experiments had been attempted though these proved to be unsuccessful.

Six months after the Burns Report the Sargent Report (1905) was published. This was the most comprehensive report up to that time based on a full 'colonial inspection' on B.P. schools (Thema, 1947:24; Parsons, 1984:32). It was a more comprehensive report than those previously cited as it covered all the denominations' schools in the B.P. and was used as a blue-print till 1945. The report began by looking at enrolment figures and noted that the B.P. was generally a backward state as regards education (Sargent 1905:2). The report inter alia covered government aid for missionary schools; teacher training; curriculum relevancy and missionary control of schools. Sargent then drew up a list of recommendations (Sargent, *ibid*; pp23-26). Some of the recommendations include:

- (i) The establishment of a Central Board of Advice which would include missionary representatives; the government secretary as chairman and its main aim would be to keep the Resident Commissioner informed on all related matters on education.

- (ii) The appointment of a Director of Education for the B.P. whose main function would be to keep the Board informed on draft estimates, changes in regulations etc. In general, to be devoting time to the administration and inspection of schools.
- (iii) To introduce short vacation courses for teachers which could be of a month's duration and could be built upon each year; teachers should have improved salaries due to such courses.

Two of the most important outcomes of the report were the formation of Tribal School Committees and the introduction of school levy or levies which had both come about because of the tribes' own initiatives. Both these outcomes will be discussed later.

There was even greater resistance about secondary education in Botswana. The colonial government was opposed to tribes having their own secondary schools on the grounds that the money would be better spent on improving primary education<sup>4</sup>. Dumbrell, the Director of Education opposed attempts for secondary schooling at Motsete's school, the Tati Training Institute. The argument he provided was that the B.P.'s needs could be met by opportunities in neighbouring countries namely South Africa and Rhodesia (Parsons, 1984:36).

To conclude, the colonial government's role was one of neglect, prejudice and lack of support both financially and administratively. Halpern (1965:309) writing on the situation in the B.P. just a few years before independence notes that in 1960 expenditure for white children amounted to £55,152 on 411 children or £134.2 per white child; whilst the expenditure on African children was £265,683 on 36,273 children or £7.14 per African child. In other words, eighteen times as much was spent on the education of every white child enrolled as on every black one. Moreover only about half of the African children of the school age group attended school and most of these dropped out before

---

<sup>4</sup> See for example Mary Benson (1960:165), Education Reports (1920) and (1930-1935) Botswana National Archives - B.N.A. S/45/2 and S98/9-13.



even completing the cycle. Halpern illustrates the problem of school drop outs by showing statistics for the year 1958:-

**TABLE 3.1: PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENTS SHOWING DROP OUTS AT EACH PROGRESSIVE STANDARD FOR BATSWANA CHILDREN (1958)**

STANDARD	NO. OF PUPILS
Sub - A	9,113
Sub - B	6,653
Standard I	4,812
Standard II	3,507
Standard III	2,654
Standard IV	1,706
Standard V	840
Standard VI	639

Halpern further indicates that only 6% of the primary school children that year completed the cycle and only 3% of those who started in 1957, entered a secondary school in 1964.

Problems cited in the literature for such high drop out rates include lack of trained and untrained teachers, poor teaching, lack of places, enormous dearth of materials, lack of latrines and parents removing boys out of schools for cattle herding. This latter reason has persisted even now, two to three decades later in some rural parts of Botswana e.g. the Kweneng (see for example C. Allison, 1983).

### **3.2.2 The Role of Religious Organizations**

As mentioned earlier, it was due to missionary work that Western education was introduced into the B.P. Various church groups competed with one another for converts and in this respect, schools were being used to win over entire nations. The L.M.S. and the Anglican Church became the dominant denominations in the Bangwato and Bakwena Regions whilst the Dutch Reformed Church established itself amongst the Bakgatla. By the beginning of

the 20th century, Christianity had established itself as the state religion, albeit there was opposition from some groups as well as the Ethiopianist movement.

However by this time, tribes began to show signs of unhappiness with missionary schools because first they focussed on the vernacular whilst the tribes preferred instruction to be in English. Second, the tribes wanted some practical subjects offered, and a few mission schools did attempt to offer some practical education at a later period. In 1883, the L.M.S. secretary visiting the B.P. also did mention in his report the need for curriculum development to go beyond scriptural and into 'Industrial Education' thus paying lip-service to the current situation at that time in Europe and Britain (Parsons, 1984:33). Dutton, the Inspector of schools for the region noted in his report that the tribes were not happy about mission schools. The reasons he identified included the one stated above about missionaries not offering English instruction. Another problem cited was that mission schools put emphasis on the character of the teacher rather than his professional qualifications and fluency in English (Thema, 1947:37). Eventually the mission schools were taken over by the Tribal School Committees (T.S.C.'s) which were formed partly for the reasons above.

In 1929 there were as many as 82 schools in the B.P. more than half of these were run by missionary groups. The L.M.S. owned 39 and only 1 was owned by the colonial government. By 1945 all L.M.S. schools had been given to the Tribal authorities. The L.M.S. did not object to the T.S.C.'s except that they would have preferred more local representation on them. The T.S.C.'s are discussed in more detail later. According to Thema (1947:45), the mission schools lacked a properly coordinated system but nonetheless kept in touch with each other. Missionaries generally provided good supervision in their schools and cared for their teachers. The schools that were being taken over together with other schools owned by the T.S.C.'s lacked this proper supervision.

There was a lot of conflict between the colonial government and missionaries especially over the colonial policy for native education. Willoughby in 1916, referred to the colonial government as never having 'shown the smallest desire to care for the health of body or mind of the natives it professedly exists to serve'. Another missionary Jules Ellengberger referred to the government that it 'should rather be washing clothes rather than governing nations' (Parsons 1984:33). On the other hand even some Batswana criticized the missionary groups, especially the L.M.S., on their policies for native education. Strong criticism came from the local writer Sol Plaatje who had also started a local newspaper in Setswana and English at that time.

The main contributions of the missions e.g. the L.M.S. came first through the Burns report (1904) mentioned earlier which made some generalizations on problems in schools in the territory as a whole. Second, the missions also contributed to the educational development of the B.P. by giving their schools to the T.S.C.'s. Third, in 1934, the Roman Catholic Mission started a new venture at Kgale then known as Forest Hill and situated about seven miles from Gaborone. This was the Kgale Agricultural school. Unlike similar institutions started by the local people e.g.. the Tati Training Institute that were not receiving any government assistance, this one had the backing of the administration.

The aim of the school was to give a thoroughly practical and theoretical training in general agricultural and livestock farming to young native Batswana to enable them to make better use of their land and to have a better standard of living in their homes.<sup>5</sup> The Director of Education and the government's agricultural expert served on the committee. The school offered two main courses viz:- a two year practical course on animal husbandry, dry farming and irrigation and a Cape Junior Certificate level course in various subjects such as English, Arithmetic, Book Keeping, Physio Hygiene and Nature Study. Unfortunately according to Thema (1947:97) the school had to close down

---

<sup>5</sup> Thema, B.C. (1947:94).

because of lack of support in 1940 despite appeals by Chiefs and other authorities. The Director of Education noted in his report:

It had been fighting a losing battle against prejudice and the cash value conception of education that is still prevalent amongst Africans<sup>6</sup>

Thema further notes that this was another glorious chance that had been lost to the territory. The school reopened a few years later as St Joseph's College and was the first to offer regular secondary level courses.

On the other hand as Molutsi (1986:305) notes missions also contributed to inequality in the region in the provision of social facilities. Mission stations were mainly concentrated along the Eastern part of the country. There was also prejudice in the way various denominations only favoured the members of their own organisations. According to Brian (1970:218) the Roman Catholic Mission did not re-admit boys once they had been initiated unless of course there was proof of coerced initiation but this observation though applicable to Botswana was made about Lesotho.

### 3.3.3 The Role of Local Communities:

According to Stevens (1967:163) in Lesotho the major share of the burden of education, as in Botswana, rests on non-government shoulders. But in Lesotho a lot of assistance and encouragement was forthcoming from the churches. Munger (1965) and Benson (1960) both contend that Botswana was unique in having little help from the missions. Education was kept mostly in the hands of the tribes. We have seen earlier, how the colonial government showed lack of interest in developing the B.P. The role of local communities has been an important one throughout the history of education in Botswana. Parsons (1984:43) puts it succinctly thus:

The underlying strength of Botswana's educational heritage has always been local community initiative.

---

<sup>6</sup> Thema (1947:94); see also the Director's Report, 1939/40:14.

Community initiatives will be looked at in both primary and secondary education in the pre-independence/colonial era leading up to the present time.

### 3.3.3.1 Primary Education

Western education was introduced by the missionaries. As discussed earlier, conflicts began to arise and the Batswana were not too happy about mission schools. As early as 1880's demand for academic education in English became evident when the Tswana states needed secretariats who would be fluent in English and thus act as interpreters. An easy solution at first was to employ part-time secretariats from Basutoland but as Parsons (1984:29) shows, Tswana Dikgosi (Kings or Chiefs) were sponsoring the education of local youth to staff their secretariats.<sup>7</sup> The youth were sent to Lovedale and other prestigious English-medium colleges in the Cape Colony.

At the beginning of the 20th Century there was a continuing and insistent need for English medium education which as Parsons argues, became a source of 'nationalist' conflict with English missionaries and colonial authorities. Within the first decade, an independent schools movement was started and soon gained momentum. The movement probably has its origins in Kanye where Kgosi Bathuen had started an education levy to pay the services of a local teacher, Kgosisikobo, to teach English to Batswana children. Other large villages or rural towns that followed this pattern were Mochudi, Molepolole and Serowe. This was the start of the National schools movement in the territory. The Paramount Chiefs set up special levies to pay teachers. According to Thema (1947:35) the levy for education was the cause of tribal control of education and the establishment of the school committees (T.S.C.'s) the result. The Sargent Report (1905) did mention some form of local control. Once the tribes had taken

---

<sup>7</sup> The secretariats handled a variety of dealings with colonial administrators, traders and missionaries. They were usually based in the tribal or colonial capitals and moved around with the chiefs doing all their correspondence.

upon themselves the responsibility of providing funds for education, the right to control or administrate the schools fell into their own hands.

According to Halpern (1965:310) local schools were run by the T.S.C.'s and these were financed by the local treasuries which obtained half of the £2 annual tax paid by all African men. This system, Halpern notes further, though it encouraged local interest and trained people in local government, was also 'administratively complicated, wasteful and confused.' Stevens (1967:63) adds to this saying this form of local administration lacked resources, objectives and horizons. Munger (1965:41) notes in addition that the system also allowed for financial mismanagement and loss in planning efficiency especially when tribes were taken individually. Munger further compares it to the decentralized system in the U.S.A. where he notes, 'poor areas have poor schools and rich areas are able to develop ahead'.<sup>8</sup>

The first T.S.C. was formed in Kanye on July 12th 1910. The Resident Commissioner or his representative usually chaired the meetings of the T.S.C. and the Resident Missionary acted as the secretary (see Appendix 7 on the T.S.C. constitution). But it was only in 1938 that the first legislation dealing with education in the B.P. was made which gave the Director of Education a lot of powers e.g. to close down any school if he felt the running of it did not satisfy him. Some details of the constitution of the T.S.C.'s were also formulated including the powers of these committees, 28 years after they were formed. According to Thema (1947:75) a chief would normally in choosing the three representatives who were supposed to represent the tribe, select people closely associated to him. The representatives would thus not necessarily be educated people; and besides teachers were not allowed on the T.S.C.'s. Teachers were also not allowed on Boards of Advise 'lest awkward situations arose'. Teachers

---

<sup>8</sup> With the new partnership venture, though, schools are run by Boards of Governors who are under the control and supervision of the central government. This at least ensures more equity now between the schools than in the past.

or their representatives were usually seen as 'agents' and were only allowed in their capacity as tribesmen in any of these meetings<sup>9</sup>.

The schools administered by the T.S.C.'s were lacking in supervision as mentioned earlier, especially when compared to those under missionary control or to the time when these were run by the latter group. Furthermore, Benson (1960:56) notes that the T.S.C. - run schools had various disadvantages because they allowed all children from the community irrespective of age to enrol. So it was not uncommon to find pupils of 8 years of age mixed with a few 20 year olds in one class! Besides, classes were always overcrowded and ranged from 70-100 pupils in any one class. Unlike the missionary system of trying to centralize ward schools the tribes were pushing for expansion. This put a further strain on the big shortage of trained and untrained teachers. T.S.C. schools in general tended to have more untrained teachers with as little as two or three years of primary schooling background themselves (see Appendix 8).

Schools were built entirely through community efforts and also managed by them. A good example is the Bakgatla National School that was built through the efforts of the regent Kgosi Isang Pilane for the Bakgatla at Mochudi.<sup>10</sup>

It should be remembered that the territory was both poor and underdeveloped. The Paramount Chiefs had relentlessly, but unsuccessfully sought funds and other forms of help for the development of education from the colonial government.. Some chiefs had recourse to sending regiments to work in the mines in South Africa to raise funds. According to Pilane (1973:120) the Regent Isang at first called the tribe at the Kgotla (traditional meeting place for the tribe) where it was unanimously agreed to build a school. The Regent called upon his own Mophato to contribute £50 each or to donate an ox. The Mophato men who worked in the mines in South Africa contributed money whilst those who had remained behind made bricks, slime and carried these together with other materials up the hill. There were several half mile long lines

---

<sup>9</sup> Teacher representation on School Boards is a current issue as well c.f. Chapter Seven.

<sup>10</sup> See Bakgatla file (B.N.A. RC/12).

of people helping in the process of work. The school was finally finished in 1923 and officially opened by the Duke of Athol. It was described as the largest building to be built by Batswana in the territory at the time. The school was initially called the National school for the Bakgatla and was later renamed 'Sekolo sa Phutadikobo'. However the name was changed once more to Isang Primary School and remained so until it closed down in 1963 when classes were transferred to another school. The school building is now functioning as a national museum called Phutadikobo Museum (see Appendix 16.b).

According to Grant (1976) the school had cost over £3,000 to build. On its completion the Regent Isang approached the Resident Commissioner and asked for a subsidy to run the school. Isang also made it clear to the Commissioner that the intentions of the tribe was to use the school for other purposes namely to train teachers and to also venture in agricultural experiments. The Bakgatla were fortunate in that the school had been opened by 'HRH Prince Arthur of Connaught, grandson of Queen Victoria and Governor General of the Union of South Africa and High Commissioner for Basutoland, Bechunaland and Swaziland' and secondly they were offered an initial grant of £600 p.a. to pay the fees of the principal. The Paramount Chiefs were interested in broad educational ideals. They wanted their people to learn vocational education alongside academic subjects. They all showed a strong zeal for secondary level courses to be introduced as will be shown later but unfortunately had to meet a lot of bureaucratic delays.

### 3.3.3.2 Secondary Education

Towards the end of the 19th century and early 20th century some Batswana tribes were already showing great interest in secondary education. The Bangwato under Tshekedi Khama had grand ideas to build a huge school in Phalatswe but unfortunately the L.M.S. refused to cooperate and instead their missionary hijacked the Bangwato plan and started the Tiger Kloof College in



South Africa. Isang Pilane's school in Mochudi mentioned above also made no headway with regards to secondary education. Moreover, the administration reduced the grant the school was receiving for the principal's salary who ultimately had to leave. Colonial officials were quick to point to opportunities in South Africa or Rhodesia and were adamant to promote secondary education in the B.P.

In the 1930's the Reverend K.T. Motsete started a few classes in Serowe at the Khama Memorial school but left shortly after to start his own school in the Tati area (Dixon 1965/66:100). Motsete had some great ideas and combined industrial, vocational, agricultural and academic courses at primary and secondary levels. The Tati Training Institute as his school was called actually started offering a few vocational courses, on tannery, building and carpentry but unfortunately the Bakalanga who were financially supporting the school lost interest as they were in need of a more Western-academic type of education, causing the school to collapse.

Tshekedi Khama did not give up his dream for a large educational venture. According to Benson (1960:167) he submitted plans to the Administration and even wrote several memoranda to them in which he said:

We need a sound and modern academic training as an integral part of and not as an alternative to agriculture or industrial training. The object is to train a community which will become a worthy asset as an integral part of the economic life and well being of the territory.

Tshekedi had just turned down an offer from a South African Diamond company to build his tribe a vocational school in exchange for a thousand mine workers per annum. Tshekedi was convinced that secondary education was imperative because only then could teachers, administrators, and leaders emerge and only thus impetus be given to primary education as well.

But again he received no help from the administration who were opposed to Batswana ideas on secondary education saying it would be better to spend on primary education where the needs of the majority were. Tshekedi felt that the Administration was only interested in projects that they initiated and thus turned

to his own tribe for support and once he had gained it, he decided to go ahead with his plans and submitted his scheme to the Colonial Administration in 1939.

It was a huge venture which was estimated at a cost of £100,000. The money was mainly raised through levies that Tshekedi had imposed over his tribe over the past couple of years. The men had agreed to give a beast each towards the cost of the school and also for the school farm. His regiments were also involved in building the road, dam, clearing the site, making bricks and hewing pillars. The school was situated in a beautiful valley called Moeng from which the school obtained its name. The only problem was its remoteness which actually suited Tshekedi who felt that this would only help promote the ideals of learning. The school offered courses in Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Mechanics, Building, Carpentry, Book keeping and Typing. It had a farm and typified a real community situation where the students were all expected to take part in the farm activities etc. The school was opened in 1948 with an enrolment of 122 students but eventually ran into financial and administrative problems. It was eventually taken over by the government as a National Secondary school in 1955. The Kgale Agricultural mission of the Roman Catholic church has already been mentioned earlier.

Around the 1940's and 50's the new Director of Education, Jowitt focussed his attention like his predecessors, on primary education which obliged the T.S.C.'s to look after their own primary and secondary schools as well. Jowitt was only interested in lower primary education and teacher training for primary schools. This somehow led to the resurgence of the old national schools mentioned earlier that had started in Kanye, Molepole Serowe and Mochudi. Now the focus was on junior secondary education instead of primary.

Towards the end of the colonial era, an interesting vocational and academic project namely the Serowe Brigades was started by Patrick Van Rensburg in response to the growing needs of the unemployed primary school leavers. The Brigades combined training skills with practical work thus offering 'training on

the job' which involved production and commercial activities to cover costs of training.

#### **3.4.0 THE BRIGADES MOVEMENT**

The Brigades were founded by Patrick Van Rensburg in 1965. According to Van Rensburg (1974) two main factors led to their development viz:- (a) lack of places for primary school leavers at secondary level, (b) lack of training opportunities for various vocational skills that were needed in the country.

Brigades are training and production enterprise units that combine learning skills with on-the-job training. Production is mainly for cost recovery purposes. Training skills are primarily geared to the needs to the local environment with the general aim of promoting rural development. The first brigade was a builder's brigade at Swaneng which was shortly followed by a farmer's brigade. Soon, other brigades including carpentry, plumbing, welding, mechanics, textiles, pottery, forestry, bee-hive keeping, tanning and printing were introduced. Each brigade is autonomous and depends on mainly community initiatives. The range of skills offered or type of brigade will depend on the local resources and skills available.

Unfortunately brigades ran into a lot of financial and management problems, which was the main reason for government intervention (N.D.P.6., 1985). They were also undermined by general attitudes on 'white collar' jobs as opposed to vocational training. However brigades remain up to the present time albeit they offer more structured programmes. They now receive substantial government support and special unit, Bridec, has been set up to help train personnel in management skills.

It is interesting to note that all the academic projects mentioned above e.g. Isang's Bakgatla school or the Tati Training Institute or even Tshekedi's educational venture in a sense had some similarities to the Brigades. Each of these wanted to integrate academic and industrial or vocational education.

Somehow it was never clearly spelt out exactly what was meant by this. Although what does come out clearly is that the Batswana wanted more academic-oriented courses that would guarantee 'white collar' jobs both in South Africa and in Botswana.

### **3.5.0 THE INDEPENDENCE AND POST INDEPENDENCE ERA:**

In the era of independence, political pressure forced the colonial government to take stronger control of secondary education. In 1965, a new government secondary school was being built in Gaborone. The Administration also planned to take over National schools that up till now remained the responsibility of the T.S.C.'s, though it was only towards the end of the 60's and early 70's that the government started to take full control of the old national schools. The Botswana government also provided assistance to those secondary schools that were built by various agencies namely Church or Missions e.g. St Joseph's College in Kgale and also the Brigade schools. The government provided trained teachers and also paid their salaries as well as bursaries for Batswana students. These schools were also treated like other government schools in terms of inspection, receiving materials e.g. books etc. the only difference being they were still managed by their founding organizations and were known as Government Aided Schools. Independence, did not end the role of the community that has up to this point been the 'underlying strength to Botswana's educational heritage'. But before we examine community initiatives in secondary education we need to briefly look at two other projects that were started in the early 70's namely the Matsha Community College and the Tutume McConnell College.

**FIGURE 4: PHOTOGRAPHS OF MATSHA COMMUNITY COLLEGE**



### **3.5.1 Matsha Community College:**

According to Byram (1979) Matsha was one of the first junior secondary schools built with World Bank loans. The initial idea was to build a multi purpose institution for the Kgalagadi desert region which has many sparsely populated settlements. It was intended to be the 'Oasis of the Kgalagadi' where people from all walks of life could come and seek an integrated approach to education.

However several problems were experienced. First, due to its remoteness there were transport delays. Second there were poor communication links between the central government and the various concerned district councils that were expected to liaise in the running of Matsha. Third it was difficult to have one director responsible for the secondary school, brigades and the non-formal education component. As these three areas of education are run by separate departments in the Ministry of Education, further problems occurred. In the end, there were three separate institutions namely Matsha Secondary School (a conventional government school), the Matsha Brigades and the Non-Formal Education Centre albeit the latter is situated in the school and these share most of their facilities.

### **3.5.2 Tutume McConnell College:**

Was founded in 1970 by Philip Jones, a teacher from Swaneng Hill school which was the first self help school/brigade started by Patrick Van Rensburg. His intentions were to start a similar project. With the help from students and the community, the secondary school was started. The brigades followed shortly but due to financial problems, outside donors had to be found. The Ministry of Education took over the school and the McConnell Foundation from America financed the whole institution. However the sponsors were more interested in the brigades and very soon there were administrative difficulties of having one director for the two sections. Like Matsha, the College ended up as a

conventional school and a separate brigade. The school is now aided by government with some finance still provided by the McConnell Foundation.

It is unfortunate that both these colleges were unable to achieve their initial objectives. However some benefit has been accrued to their communities namely the provision of various services e.g. the sale of fresh produce, closer links with the communities i.e. through the sharing of various facilities and resources.

### **3.6.0 THE POST INDEPENDENCE ERA: THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY**

Partly for political reasons and partly because of economic/manpower needs, the dominant concerns for education policy were focussed on secondary and university development in the first decade after independence. The situation was such that even as late as 1970, the President was saying that since opportunities were limited, it was not wise to put much emphasis on primary education expansion (Botswana Democratic Party, 1970:80). But, the government was even then unable to provide enough secondary school places for all primary school leavers. The demand for secondary schooling was accentuated by the fact that education was seen as the key to success. It was thought to guarantee a job and thus raised parents aspirations even higher. This view was exacerbated by the very policy of the government to expand education at the second level to meet manpower requirements. People were led to believe that many jobs existed in the modern and administrative sectors of the economy. The growing number of self-help schools was another indicator of the high desire for education. According to the National Development Plan 1968/73:-

*The desire for secondary education has developed at such a tempo that established secondary schools, although enormously expanded, have not nearly met the demand for places (N.D.P. 1970:109).*

The government was actually admitting that they could not provide places at the second level for all the primary school leavers! Table 2 shows the growth of the self-help schools between 1970 and 1985.

**TABLE 3.2: GROWTH OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN BOTSWANA 1976-1985**

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
GOVERNMENT & AIDED SCHOOLS	15	15	18	20	22	22	22	22	23	23
PRIVATE SELF-HELP SCHOOLS	17	17	17	16	16	19	20	20	35*	42*

\* Community Junior Secondary Schools

SOURCE: Compiled from Education Statistics 1986: p.VI and p.VII.

Clearly one can see that as early as 1976, communities were playing a significant role in the provision of schooling at the second level. In 1975, there were 14 such private/self-help junior secondary schools. These were admitting 15% of the Std VII completers as compared to 20% being admitted by the government schools (NCE, 1977:87). According to Swartland and Taylor (1988:13) the government had at first completely ignored the schools and did not even record their existence in the education statistics even though they were registered (as required by law).

Up until a few years ago, these 'non-government' run secondary schools were known as 'private junior secondary schools'. In 1979 the government decided to change the name of these schools to Community Junior Secondary Schools (C.J.S.S.) because according to Swartland, the government did not want these schools to be confused with elitist private secondary schools that one comes into contact with outside Botswana (Moso: 1987:7). One wonders why the elitist private school in Botswana that came up after independence is not mentioned!



These private, self-help schools were started either by individuals or by several members within the community. But unlike the pre-independence era when the schools were initiated mostly by the Paramount Chiefs and when tribes were forced to pay levies, these schools were based on purely volunteer 'community spirit' basis. In a sense these schools were built on the same lines as the Harambee schools in Kenya. The schools were managed by a Board of Governors that was elected by the community. Community members then contributed cash, beasts, materials and labour towards the construction of the school. How different were these schools from the community schools or national schools during the pre-colonial era that were under the Tribal School Committees (T.S.C.'s)? This will be looked at below but we also need to know the intention of government vis a vis these schools and how they compared with government schools. According to Nthoyiwa (1987:16) Setlalokgosi in Francistown and Mahalapye Secondary School in Mahalapye, Central District, were the first amongst these schools. Soon after many schools evolved between 1976 and 1985 as shown in Table 3.2.

### 3.6.1 Comparison Between the Private Self-Help Schools and the Pre-Independence Tribal School Committee Schools

First, it should be noted in both era's schools were started/initiated either by individuals or through community efforts at large. Though the difference in origins is that most of the T.S.C. schools were initiated by the chiefs whilst the private schools were initiated either by individuals or groups of individuals within the community.

Second, the management of the pre-independence schools was in the hands of the Tribal School Committees. These were represented by the Chief or representatives chosen by him. The Chair-person was the magistrate or his nominee and usually the secretary was the resident missionary. On the other hand, the private schools were managed by Boards of Governors (B.O.G.). The members of the B.O.G.'s were elected by the community though eventually

government introduced a few ex-officio members on them. The T.S.C. were decentralized but mainly deconcentrated as they were still controlled by the Boards of Advise in terms of teaching subjects or changing regulations etc. The Private schools were also decentralized schools but authority was more devolved, because they could set their own regulations e.g charge any amount of fees or teach any subjects though the curriculum per se in terms of what was taught was governed by the Ministry of Education and in terms of the exams set by the latter.

Third, the T.S.C. schools were free and had a steady source of income from the Native Fund. These schools were also built by the communities through enforced regimental labour; regiments also had to pay money or give beasts towards the construction fees. Whereas, the Private schools charged fees and had no income to fall back on. Contributions were on a voluntary basis and even help for building the schools came voluntarily from the communities.

Fourth, the T.S.C. schools were community based and usually catered for the children within their community's hence the building of national schools at a later stage but which only catered for the specific tribes. The Private schools on the other hand charged fees and on that basis acted as true national schools in that they were open to the nation as a whole. Though the intention in building them was to cater for the needs of a particular community where the children could not get opportunities to study secondary education in the government schools that were so few and therefore not meeting the nation's demand.

A final point to be noted about the private schools is that though these have been referred to as community schools, one has to ask which community and who was really benefitting from them. As mentioned above these schools charged fees which were their main source of income. In some instances the schools were benefitting the owners who used them as money making institutions under the name of community schools. Otherwise only those parents who could afford the fees were benefitting.

### **3.6.2 Government and Government Aided Schools Vs. Private Self-Help Schools**

A close examination of these two categories of schools reveal gross inequalities between them. The government and aided schools are all large schools with boarding facilities and are usually provided with laboratories, libraries, trained teachers, electricity, dining halls, kitchens, good sports facilities and equipment. The old private schools up to 1984 did not have any of these facilities; neither did they have enough classrooms, teaching materials or books.

Simon (1984:105/6) looked at these major inequalities that existed between these school categories. First, he analyzed the retention/progression rates of a group of students enrolled in Form 1 or the first year programme in both schools. A student in the government schools stood a 90% chance of completing his junior secondary education whilst his counterpart stood a 65% chance.

Second, Simon examined student selection in these school types. Usually, the students who got A and B grades in the Primary School Leaving Exam (P.S.L.E.) at the end of the primary cycle are selected for government and the government aided schools. A few of these students are also fortunate to receive bursaries. On the other hand, the private schools' intake were the low achievers in the P.S.L.E. Table 3.3 overleaf shows the outputs in terms of results.

It is not surprising that government schools have a far better pass rate. In 1983, government and aided schools had 38% of their students obtaining first and second class passes but their counterparts only had 5% of these students with first and second class passes.

Third, Simon mentions that in the private schools, the majority of teachers were untrained unlike their counterparts in the government schools who were mostly trained teachers.

**TABLE 3.3: NATIONAL RESULTS: SUMMARY OF J.C. EXAM RESULTS**

GRADES	GOVT. AND AIDED		PRIVATE SELF-HELP		*OTHER SCHOOLS		GRAND TOTAL	
	1985	1986	1985	1986	1985	1986	1985	1986
MERIT	15	27	0	0	0	0	15	27
FIRST	84	138	1	2	0	0	85	140
SECOND	1577	2069	130	389	7	11	1721	2469
THIRD	1956	2583	750	1561	28	47	2789	4191
FAIL	650	813	945	1867	39	44	1793	2724
PASS	3632	4817	881	1952	35	58	4610	6827
TOTAL								
CANDIDATES	4282	5630	1826	3819	74	102	6403	9551
% PASS	84.2	85.6	48.2	51.1	32.9	56.9	72.0	71.5

SOURCE: Botswana Government: Junior Certificate Examination Results (1986)

\*These are also private schools but of a different nature to the private self-help type under discussion. Examples of these schools are Selibe Phikwe; Capital Continuation Classes - A "Night-School".

### **3.7.0 THE PARTNERSHIP VENTURE BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNITIES: COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

It was mentioned earlier that the government had decided to change the name of the private schools to be called Community Junior Secondary Schools (C.J.S.S.) in 1979/1980. There have been a number of well thought out ideas behind such a move as will be discussed below.

It has been the government's intention to universalize junior secondary education (NDP VI 1986:139). This intention has been based on a recommendation by the National Commission on Education (N.C.E.) that was set up in 1977 to evaluate the entire education system of Botswana. The N.C.E. had also recommended that the private self-help schools discussed above should be incorporated by the government and be made part of a system of day schools that will provide junior secondary education.

In order to achieve the goal of universal junior secondary education, the government had to approach the communities to expand the number of secondary schools between them. The government undertook to upgrade the standard of the Private schools which meant:-

- (a) They would furnish the schools with trained teachers, laboratories, text books etc.
- (b) They would provide trained teachers and also pay the teachers' salaries.

On the other hand the communities were expected to maintain the schools i.e. take care of other recurrent expenditure; have Boards of Governors to include ex-officio members; build at least half the number of staff houses. This programme of joint partnership is already being implemented. Table 3.3 shows the sudden increase in private schools in 1982 from twenty to thirty-five by 1983 and forty-two by 1985!

This thesis focusses on the new partnership venture and in particular the role of the community and the dynamics of community participation in the Community Junior Secondary Schools.

### **3.8.0 CONCLUSION**

This chapter traces the participation of communities in education in Botswana right from the pre-colonial times and looks at the historical changes that have taken place. It has been clearly shown that the colonial government refused to provide help and delayed educational development in Botswana. The role of the missionaries has also been examined in some detail. Most notably it has been shown how they were responsible for introducing Western education.

The communities have played a great role throughout the development of education in Botswana. We can only concur with Parsons when he says that community participation has been the strength of Botswana's educational heritage.

From the overview on community initiatives in schooling that this chapter provides, two main issues emerge. First, we note that over the past century, ie. from the present time, different kinds of community schools were initiated by individuals or chiefs and leading up to the private secondary schools built in the 70's. Though the reasons and initiatives have differed, the purposes have remained the same namely to provide educational opportunities due to the lack of schools in the country.

Second, we note that even though communities were very much involved in the provision and building of these schools, their roles were coerced upon them by Dikgosi (Chiefs). This is evident from the early schools started by Kgosi Isang in Mochudi and Kgosi Tshekedi in Moeng or even the national schools that were started by various chiefs in the large rural towns. Some tribal regiments had to go and work in the mines in South Africa to raise money in order to pay the compulsory levies whilst other regiments had to provide compulsory labour. Albeit the private schools that were established in the 70's were not using any coerced community help, there was still a heavy price to pay:- namely high school fees that were going to the coffers of individuals; and in addition these schools had poor standards of education as well as poor facilities and resources compared to their counterparts.

However, we also note that community initiatives have always risen to the demands of schooling even though Dikgosi (chiefs) had to force tribesmen to contribute. Community participation has a long history in Botswana and their involvement in the building and provision of schools examined in this chapter, causes us to speculate about their future role in such ventures. First, as a result of the nation building process i.e. Botswana's rapid socio-economic development since independence, will there not be a declining willingness on the part of communities to shoulder the responsibilities of future school management as being proposed through the new partnership venture? In other words, does private and community initiative necessarily recede as the

contributions of the state become more visible? This issue is examined in Chapter Eight.

Another important insight offered to us from the past trends of community participation in schooling in Botswana is that communities have responded rather well to the prevalent demands of various situations which we have noted above but, whenever there were signs of government intervention, community involvement had receded. However we note further that the latter's 'stalling' was only short-lived because their participation and contribution was soon to re-emerge when a new demanding situation arose. For example tribal schools that were spearheaded by Dikgosi stopped when local district councils were delegated the responsibility of building schools in the early 70's. But shortly after, communities were soon participating in the provision and building of junior secondary schools through self-help initiatives although these were mainly initiated by private individuals. Our second speculation arises from the assumption that if current government intervention in the new partnership venture causes community participation to recede, then it will only be temporary. Communities will undoubtedly reorganize themselves for future demands of schooling in Botswana. Example of such demands would be the needs of the present primary school leavers who do not achieve the required grades to obtain a place in the C.J.S.S. Another example would be the demands that will inevitably arise for senior secondary education ultimately leading towards more diversified education opportunities both at tertiary and university levels though this will take a long time!

The next part of the thesis, Chapter Five, Six, Seven and Eight examines the C.J.S.S. partnership programme in more detail. It is introduced in Chapter Four by an account of research methods used in the field.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESEARCH METHOD**

#### **4.00 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter describes the methods used for collecting and analysing the data used in this study — the evaluation of Community Junior Secondary Schools in Botswana.

First, there is a need to explain what is meant by the term 'evaluation'. Second, some of the theories describing various approaches used in educational research and relevant to the study are outlined. Third, the advantages and disadvantages of these theories are examined in order to help choose a pragmatic approach that will be best suited in the given context. Fourth the research instruments used in the study such as questionnaires and interviews, are described. Fifth the research population and sampling procedures followed are noted. Sixth, the procedures followed in collecting data in the field explaining the usefulness or limitations of the research methods used are also outlined.

#### **4.1.0 THE RATIONALE FOR RESEARCH METHODS**

According to Bogdan and Taylor (1975), methodology in a broad sense refers to process, principles and procedures by which we approach problems and seek answers. They go on to say that most debates over methods are debates over assumptions and goals, over theory and perspectives. They contend that there are two major theoretical perspectives which have dominated the Social Science scene namely Positivism and Phenomenology.

Englehart (1972) states that the ultimate aim of educational research is the discovery of generalizations relating to the various aspects of Education. He identifies three general types of inquiry viz: — Scientific, Philosophical



and Historical, but acknowledges the fact there are some shared attributes such as critical thinking and the collection and interpretation of data. Evaluation models or methods have also been used in research. Before we look at these it would be necessary to first define what is meant by 'evaluation'.

#### 4.2.0 DEFINITIONS OF EVALUATION:

Three rather different definitions are examined below:-

- (a) "The purpose of education project evaluation is to measure the implementation of the objectives... as they have been defined. The fulfillment of objectives, the cost to achieve them and the time needed should be measured. The evaluation should ideally be absolute as well as relative and compare planned and actual achievement." (Stufflebeam et al 1963).
- (b) ...."Collection and use of information to make decisions about an educational programme." (Cronbach, 1963).
- (c) "The concern is primarily with description and interpretation rather than measurement and prediction. It ... does not exclude the examination of any aspect of a project if it sheds useful light on it and will assist future decision making.... study how the project operates; how it is influenced by the various school situations in which it is applied; what those directly concerned regard as its advantages and disadvantages; how students' ... task and... experiences are most affected; what it is like to be participating in the scheme whether as a teacher or pupil; the innovations most significant features and critical processes." (Parlett and Hamilton, 1972).

The first two definitions above are rather limited focussing mainly on outcomes and procedures whilst the third one, is a more broad one

based on what has come to be termed the 'illuminative' approach. It is examined in more detail further on.

#### **4.3.0 OVERVIEW OF RELEVANT EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH APPROACHES:**

Stake (1976) breaks down the complexity of alternative styles of curriculum evaluation into six prototypes or 'models'. He says that these 'models' present succinctly a coherent set of assumptions and procedures towards which most evaluations aspire or approximate (see Appendix 9). Parlett and Hamilton (1972) distinguish two distinct paradigms within educational research namely the Classical or 'Agricultural-Botanical' paradigm and the Illuminative approach.

#### **4.3.1 Postivism Vs. Phenomenology**

An attempt will now be made to look at some of these methods in more detail. In table 4.1 overleaf, we make a comparison between two major theoretical perspectives mentioned earlier namely Positivism and Phenomenology.

**TABLE 4.1: A COMPARISON BETWEEN POSITIVISM AND PHENOMENOLOGY**

POSITIVISM		PHENOMENOLOGY
ORIGINS: AUGUST COMPTE EMILE DURKHEIM		IRWIN DEUTSCHER MAX WEBER
VIEW: SEEKS THE FACTS OR CAUSES OF SOCIAL PHENOMENA. LITTLE REGARD FOR SUBJECTIVE STATE OF INDIVIDUALS.		SEEKS UNDERSTANDING BEHAVIOUR FROM THE ACTORS' OWN FRAME OF REFERENCE
PURPOSE: SEARCH FOR CAUSES AND FACTS		SEEKS UNDERSTANDING
INSTRUMENTS OR TOOLS: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRES, INVENTORIES, DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS		PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION, OPEN-ENDED INTERVIEWS, PERSONAL DOCUMENTS.
TYPE OF DATA COLLECTED:	QUANTITATIVE DATA. TO STATISTICALLY PROVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OPERATIONALLY DEFINED VARIABLES.	QUALITATIVE, DESCRIPTIVE DATA TO ENABLE THE RESEARCHER TO SEE THE WORLD AS THE SUBJECT SEES IT.

(For a more detailed description see Appendix 10).

The above table shows that Positivism leans towards a quantitative approach to research whilst Phenomenology is more qualitative in nature. Educational research was dominated by quantitative methods in the past at least through the 1960's.

The origins of qualitative work first came into use in the late 19th century in Anthropological Research. Anthropologists needed other methods than e.g. demographic analysis, to observe 'Primitive Societies'. This was one of

the main criticisms against quantitative methods. In the 1960's and 70's, there was a re-emergence of qualitative methods. According to Bogdan and Taylor (1975) (and see also Bogdan and Bicklen 1982), qualitative methods refer to research procedures which produce descriptive data i.e. in people's own written or spoken words. This approach directs itself to particular settings and to the individuals within those settings holistically. The subject of the study (whether an individual or an organization), is not reduced to isolated abstracted variables or to a hypothesis, but is viewed instead, as part of a whole. The authors further say that qualitative methods allow us to know people personally and to see them as they are developing their own views and perspectives or definitions of the world. The methods by which we study people of necessity affects how we view them. When we reduce people to statistical aggregates, we lose sight of the subjective nature of human behaviour.

#### 4.4.0 EDUCATIONAL EVALUATION

##### 4.4.1 The Classical Paradigm

The more dominant of the two paradigms reviewed by Parlett and Hamilton (1972) is the Classical or 'Agricultural-Botanical' paradigm which uses a method obtained from the experimental and mental testing traditions of Psychology. Almost all evaluation studies have resided within this traditional paradigm perhaps the most famous one being Ralph Tyler's objectives model. The authors Parlett and Hamilton, criticize those models of evaluation which imitate the kind of research done in Agriculture and Botany. In such research, one group of students (experimental group) is pre and post tested, while the control group is subjected to a different experience (treatment) to that of the former. They say that it is extremely difficult to set up genuinely matched 'experimental' and 'control' groups. Often the attempt to create such conditions renders an experiment so 'artificially neat and

contrived' as to remove it from reality. Their more important criticism is that experimental schemes rarely remain static during their period of operation and strict attention to quantified data can lead to the exclusion of evidence whether casual, subjective or anecdotal which may in fact be more significant for the understanding of the experiment worked out in its total institutional context.

Thus, inadequate attention may be given to the specific features of the personal and political relationships in the institution concerned, for a full understanding to be gained.

In many respects the above approach is quite similar to the Positivist approach which is quantitative in nature. Young (1982:53-55) who prefers to call this approach the 'experimental paradigm' states that it starts from the assumption that quantitative data are somehow preferable to qualitative, that only by ascribing numbers to data do they become scientifically respectable. This he says leads to a preoccupation with statistical treatment (correlation etc.). He goes on to say that although quantification may certainly be necessary in evaluation, it can so easily come to take precedence over qualitative data which may be of greater value and significance in particular situations. Some highly significant effects may be ignored perhaps because they disturb the neat results and generalizations of the quantitative study. Young further argues that experimental evaluation is largely concerned with learning outcomes rather than the process of curriculum change.

#### 4.4.2 Illuminative Evaluation

Parlett and Hamilton proposed a different approach to evaluation, based on a theoretical stance taken by an American Sociologist, Martin Trow. They assumed an independent investigator who would first visit the institution; meet the people involved; observe what is going on; attend meetings and record discussions; build up a continuous record of events and thereby form

a broad view of the exercise as a whole in the institution. Having done this, he would select a number of features for sustained inquiry. He would record interviews with staff, students and others involved in the programme. This approach is known as Illuminative Evaluation. It takes account of the wider contexts in which educational innovations function. Its primary concern is with description and interpretation rather than with measurement and prediction. It stands within the alternative Anthropological paradigm.

The aims of this kind of evaluation i.e. the Illuminative approach are to study the innovatory project, how it operates; how it is influenced by the various school/institutional situations in which it is applied; in short it seeks to 'address and illuminate a complex array of questions'.

According to Parlett and Hamilton (1976), central to the understanding of the approach are two concepts viz: the Instructional system and the Learning milieu. Educational catalogues, prospectus, reports, plans, syllabi, goals or a set of pedagogic assumptions can be regarded as the 'Instructional system' or antecedents using Stakes (1976) terminology. The traditional evaluator builds his study around innovations defined in this way. He examines very closely these formal plans and from these, identifies the project goals, objectives or desired outcomes. From these in turn, he derives the 'tests and attitude inventories' which he will administer. His aim is to evaluate the Instructional system by examining whether, for example, it has attained its objectives or met its performance criteria. The learning milieu is the social, psychological and material environment in which students and teachers work together. In Stake's terms, this would represent "transactions". The learning milieu is very diverse and complex and its configuration in the classroom depends on the interplay of numerous different factors such as financial, administrative and occupational constraints of a school, individual teacher characteristics and pervasive operating expectations held by staff.

It is important to note that the Illuminative approach is not a standard methodological package but a general research strategy. It aims to be both adaptable and eclectic. There are three important characteristics of this approach: First, investigators observe; secondly they enquire further; and third, they then seek to explain. At the beginning of his investigation, a researcher is concerned with familiarizing himself thoroughly with the day to day realities of the setting he is studying. His role can be likened to Social Anthropologists in that he makes no attempt to manipulate, control or eliminate situational variables but should take as given, no matter how complex the scene he encounters. His chief task is to grapple, unravel, isolate, delineate and comprehend relationships, beliefs, practices, and responses of the individuals and the environment in which they operate (Parlett and Hamilton, 1976:92).

#### 4.4.2.1 Illuminative Evaluation: Research Instruments

The methods used in this approach include:

- (a) Observation which is concerned with building up a continuous record of the project under study.
- (b) Interviews which should be done with different groups of people e.g. in a school this would include teachers, pupils, administrators non academic staff i.e. all those concerned with the project to reveal different views, problems and attitudes. Interviews may vary from brief informal ones to structures open-ended or closed depending on the type of information or comment that is sought. Because of the almost impossible task of interviewing all the participants, interviewees must usually be selected by theoretical sampling or at random.
- (c) Questionnaire and test data: Questionnaires are useful in large scale studies and can also be used to cross check information obtained through interviews or other means. However there are several

objections to the use of questionnaires more especially if they are used in isolation. Parlett and Hamilton say that unless carefully prepared, questionnaires can lead to an accumulation of uninterpretable data. They also say that questionnaires are both expensive and time consuming in terms of preparation, postage and analysis of data. They further mention that many recipients regard questionnaires as impersonal and intrusive. As for tests, the authors say that special test of attitudes or achievement do not enjoy a privileged status within the study and the scores cannot be considered in isolation.

- (d) Documentary and Background Information: Much valuable information may be found in reports, committee minutes, plans etc. which may be directly or indirectly related to the study. The information can serve to provide a historical perspective of how the project innovation was started and regarded by various people before the study is made.

#### 4.4.2.2 Critique of the Illuminative Evaluation Approach:—

With regards to criticisms against the Illuminative paradigm, lack of objectivity is the main concern of those who question the use of this approach. Young (1982:58) questions whether forms of research exist that are 'bias-free' and 'objective'. Young cautions that the researcher should exercise care to limit the risk of bias. The researcher must make his assumptions and values explicit and check his findings against those of others e.g. ask other specialists and consultants to review his interpretations carefully.

Parlett and Hamilton (1976:18) argue that different techniques can be used to cross check findings e.g. open-ended materials can be coded and checked by outside researchers. Evidence should be presented in such a



way that others should be able to judge its quality. The authors admit that even with such precautions, some element of subjectivity will inevitably remain. Notwithstanding this, they say that the use of interpretive human insight skills is indeed to be encouraged. They go on further to say that the illuminative evaluator thus joins a diverse group of specialists (e.g. Psychiatrists, Social Anthropologists and Historians) by whom this is taken for granted.

A second criticism of this approach, is that the presence of the researcher has an effect on the conduct and progress of the innovatory scheme he is studying. Undoubtedly there will be some disturbance, but the investigator has to recognize this and therefore attempt to be 'unobtrusive without being secretive; to be supportive without being collusive; and to be non-doctrinaire without appearing unsympathetic'.

A third criticism concerns the scope of the investigation. Is the approach only confined to small scale investigations? Parlett and Hamilton say that the approach can be applied on a wider scale. A researcher could for example if he is looking at an educational problem in schools, start off with a small number of schools at first and once he's noted some salient features which he would like to concentrate on, move to a wider learning milieu. Focussing on selected issues (coming from the first sample of schools), would in fact help to speed up the study.

Fourth, an excess of irrelevant qualitative data can prevent the evaluation from establishing relevant links and relationships. This means that the researcher should have a clear set of objectives and procedures before beginning to collect data.

#### **4.5.0 TOWARDS AN ECLECTIC APPROACH**

The objectives for this study on Community Junior Secondary Schools are described in Chapter Two. The central problem however, focusses on

the need to understand what the new partnership venture between the government and communities entails. Several issues need examining namely the meaning of community schooling to the various people involved such as parents, teachers, headmasters and school managers. There is a need to examine the compatibility of various views and see if any conflicts arise. Second, the historical origins of community participation in the provision and building of schools need to be closely looked at in order to understand the present situation in the community schools within the broad socio-economic and political context. Third there is also a quality issue both in terms of inputs as well as outputs that will require careful study.

These issues would indicate that first, an entirely quantitative approach would not be suitable in seeking their understanding. Second, the study has a historical dimension which will require a search for documents as well as personal interviews with various resource persons, to enable us to have a good idea of the origins of community participation. Third, in attempting to establish the meaning of community schooling we will need to understand the different views of various people involved in the schools and how they interpret various policies or other related matters.

An Illuminative approach would have several advantages over e.g. a positivist approach which does not include qualitative data. It would allow for both formal and informal visits to schools, interviews, participant observation, document analysis and the use of questionnaires — all of which are research instruments used in adapting such an approach. However there may be some limitations too. First, the Illuminative approach focuses significantly on the interpretative perspective which means obtaining the views of those actually involved and trying to see things from their points of view. In this study, it may not always be possible to get this perspective because a lot of material may be descriptive and sometimes not available from primary sources. Second, there will be a significant amount of

processing of quantitative data as there are forty-six schools in the population of the study. Quantification may mean overlooking some qualitative aspects.

The best approach would be a combination of the various approaches mentioned above namely the Illuminative evaluation model which stands within the phenomenological perspective and some quantification. The objective is to use an eclectic and pragmatic research method that will best help us understand the situation.

#### 4.6.0 THE RESEARCH POPULATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

In March 1986, when the study was being undertaken, there were forty-five Community Junior Secondary Schools in operation. Some had just opened that year. It was decided to include all these schools in the study. There were six targetted groups including the schools and these are all examined below.

- (a) The Schools: There were three target groups in each school to whom questionnaires were mailed and details of which are provided in table 4 below.

TABLE 4.2: DETAILS OF MAILED QUESTIONNAIRES.

RESPONDENTS	TOTAL NO.	RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRES (No.)	RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRES %
TEACHERS	403	208	52%
HEADMASTERS/ HEADMISTRESSES	45	24	53%
SCHOOL MANAGERS	45	16	36%

The two groups that responded significantly well are the teachers and headmasters. School managers on their part had the poorest response. It should be noted that the two former groups are based in schools and were therefore easier to chase up and be given several reminders. The latter group were the most difficult to meet as they were not based in schools and were doing this job i.e. being school managers on a voluntary basis. Most of these managers were businessmen or holding other important positions in their communities which made it difficult to meet them as they were not necessarily based in one place (c.f. Chapter Eight).

The population sample also included the following groups who were either interviewed formally or informally as will be explained further on.

- (b) Ministry of Education officials working in various departments or holding key positions in the Ministry namely the Permanent Secretary (Acting); the Chief Education Officers:- Secondary education, community schools; the Directors of Unified Teaching Service and of the Curriculum Evaluation and Development Units; Senior Education Officers on various subject panels: English, Setswana, Vocational and Technical Education, Social Studies; the Head of the Examinations Unit; Head of the Inservice Education Unit; Education Officers (Primary) at District level, Council Education Secretaries Ministry of Local Government and Lands: officials responsible for education buildings and facilities or related work.
- (c) Molepolole College of Education Staff: the Headmaster; Dean of Students; Heads of Departments:- Social Studies, Technical Studies, Education; Staff in these departments as well as in English, Setswana, Music, Agriculture and Home Economics departments; a group of students: randomly chosen to represent a cross section of specializations.

- (d) **Community members:** parents chosen 'on the spot' mainly during school visits; two groups of families visited at their homes in villages; village residents chosen on the spot in a number of villages. A few headmen and a small number of chiefs.
- (e) **Students:** both in small groups or individuals chosen on the spot at random in several schools.
- (f) **Other resource persons:** In this group belongs mainly individuals who were either known personally by the researcher or were mentioned by some of the above individuals.

#### **4.7.0 THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS**

- (i) **Questionnaires** These were sent specifically to the three target groups of teachers, school heads and school managers, (See Appendices 11, 12 & 13). All three questionnaires had a mixture of open-ended and closed questions. The school heads (i.e. headmasters/headmistresses) and school managers questionnaires had a few inventory tables (see e.g. Headmaster Questionnaire Appendix 12, Question number 10). These tables made it easier to quantify the specific related data.

Open-ended questions based on matters of personal interest e.g. Teachers Questionnaire Appendix 11, question No. 14. b. 'Give reasons for choosing to teach in a rural based school or urban based one' solicited a wide range of responses and these were difficult to analyse and categorize in trying to explain the data findings.

- (ii) **Interviews:** Formal interviews were held with most of the College of Education staff, some Ministry officials and District Council Education Secretaries. These formal interviews comprised of selecting a

convenient time with the interviewees; providing a list of questions to some of them before or during the interview.

Informal interviews were held with some Ministry officials and the rest of the respondents. These informal interviews comprised 51 informal discussions around various themes related to particular topics.

(iii) School visits:

- (a) At least twenty five out of the forty-five schools were visited. The visits covered schools in all ten districts of Botswana. Schools were chosen on the basis of distance e.g. in terms of being in a remote area; urban schools and rural schools were also chosen to see if any particular differences or relationships could be seen. Chapter Seven provides a few details of schools that were visited. School visits provided a lot of information via observations, discussions and interviews.
- (b) Twelve school managers were interviewed during school visits and almost all the headmasters in these schools.
- (c) Seven out of twenty-five senior secondary schools which are all government run were visited too. More specifically all those that were once community schools before, were visited in order to gain some first hand information on their origins, programmes and level of community involvement. These include Shashe, Kgari-Sechele, Molefe and Mater-spei which started either as National schools or Church established schools. A few schools that were intended to serve specific functions e.g. act as non-formal education centres, brigades and academic schooling such as Matsha in Ghantshi and Tutume McConnell in Tutume (c.f. Chapter Three) were also visited.

- (iv) Documentary Analysis: This comprised of: Various government reports e.g. Education for Kagisano; Muso; National Development Plans; School History Profiles; Reports; these were all examined to obtain information on the development of schools in general; school finances where possible though this type of information was mainly classified and not easy to come by. School enrolments were also looked at.
- (v) Archival Research: The National Archives in Gaborone has a lot of information on work written in Botswana. In particular the archives were most useful for finding historical information pertaining to the pre-independence era. For example the role of the colonial government, the role of churches and missionaries and also information on early tribal schools was all found in the archives (c.f. Chapter Three).

#### 4.8.0 QUESTIONNAIRE PRE-TESTING

The questionnaires were drafted by the researcher. They were then shown to a few colleagues and government officials working in the schools and in the Ministry of Education. The feedback that was obtained, helped to rephrase a few questions.

Five schools chosen specifically for their different areas of placement i.e. geographical location, were used in the pre-testing of questionnaires. The questionnaires were then modified and mailed to the schools. School visits helped to clarify any problems that existed. In each school, an assistant helped in distributing questionnaires, collecting and returning the same.

#### 4.9.0 FIELD WORK EXPERIENCE

In this section we will first describe the procedures that were followed in carrying out the research and then discuss various approach/methods used.

In order to carry out research in Botswana, one has to first obtain official permission, which is simply a matter of bureaucracy and includes the filling

in of forms, stating the research objectives and the purposes for carrying out such research in Botswana. Fortunately Botswana is one of the few countries in Africa that welcomes critical research into both government and non-government activities.<sup>1</sup>

The next most important task is to secure financial support. This of course will be influenced by the kind of research and the nature of research being carried out. For example government or international organizations will almost invariably fund research activities for study purposes. Most students working for the Botswana Government will also receive some financial support from their departments.

Once these two crucial tasks had been achieved, the researcher drew out a timetable allocating various tasks over the time available to do the research. Letters had to be sent to various organizations, departments and individuals notifying them in advance of specific research activities e.g. all heads of schools had to be forewarned of the questionnaires and school visits. The researcher had to also organize a 'contact' in each school who would help in distributing, collecting and returning the questionnaires.

The major difficulties of this study arose from two areas. First the initial intention was to select a few issues and try and focus on only a few schools, e.g. school and community participation as a theme would be looked at and if there were items of interest, a detailed study would be carried out in one or two schools. However because the schools were only just starting to operate, and probably due to the wide research objectives that were initially proposed, it was difficult to focus on such issues. Instead, other issues of equality emerged and this required looking at as many schools as possible. This meant spreading the research over a wide area but losing out on particular in depth focus. On the whole visiting many schools helped to

---

<sup>1</sup> This was reiterated at a recent International Conference in Edinburgh, by the Permanent Secretary of Education; Edinburgh 14th December 1988.



compare such issues as quality in terms of inputs and was thus useful to the study.

#### 4.10.0 CONCLUSION

The study has been based on a formative evaluation approach as the programme under study is on-going and has only just begun. The overall approach drew on the Illuminative Evaluation Model which is located within the Phenomenological perspective.

The specific techniques used were questionnaires, interviews, observation, document analysis and archival research (See Figure 3 overleaf for a brief summary).

**FIGURE 3: RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND SOURCES OF EVIDENCE:  
SUMMARY**

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	SOURCES OF EVIDENCE
1. HOW THE DIFFERENT GROUPS INTERPRET THE MEANING OF COMMUNITY SCHOOLING	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY OF— 208 TEACHERS IN SCHOOLS 24 HEADMASTERS/HEADMISTRESSES 16 SCHOOL MANAGERS</li> <li>— INTERVIEWS WITH — 25 HEADMASTERS 10 SCHOOL MANAGERS 7 PARENT GROUPS 30 COMMUNITY MEMBERS</li> <li>— DOCUMENT ANALYSIS — MINISTRY OF EDUCATION REPORTS, PLANS</li> <li>— ARCHIVAL RESEARCH</li> </ul>
2. ESTABLISHING THE LINKS BETWEEN THE SCHOOLS AND THEIR COMMUNITIES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY OF TEACHERS, HEADMASTERS AND SCHOOL MANAGERS.</li> <li>— SCHOOL VISITS &amp; OBSERVATIONS</li> <li>— VISITS TO PRIMARY SCHOOLS</li> <li>— INTERVIEWS WITH SCHOOL HEADS, TEACHERS, STUDENTS, PARENTS, DIKGOSI (CHIEFS), COUNCIL SECRETARIES, EDUCATION OFFICERS, PRIMARY SCHOOL HEAD TEACHERS.</li> </ul>
3. ASSESSING THE RELEVANCE OF THE CURRICULUM OF THE C.J.S.S.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY OF TEACHERS, SCHOOL HEADS AND MANAGERS</li> <li>— INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS, STUDENTS, PARENTS, MANAGERS, MINISTRY OF EDUCATION OFFICIALS — SECONDARY EDUCATION DEPT; SUBJECT PANELISTS; DEPARTMENT OF CURRICULUM EVALUATION AND PLANNING; MOLEPOLOLE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION STAFF. HEADTEACHERS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS.</li> <li>— SCHOOL VISITS</li> </ul>
4. ESTABLISHING THE ROLE OF TEACHERS IN THE C.J.S.S. AND IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY OF TEACHERS, SCHOOL HEADS AND MANAGERS</li> <li>— INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS, HEADS, AND SCHOOL MANAGERS, VILLAGE HEADMAN, CHIEFS AND PARENTS, STAFF-MOLEPOLOLOLE COLLEGE.</li> <li>— SCHOOL VISITS, MOLEPOLOLOLE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION</li> </ul>
5. ASSESSING THE ROLE OF COMMUNITIES IN SCHOOL FINANCE AND MANAGEMENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>— QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY OF TEACHERS, HEADS AND MANAGERS.</li> <li>— INTERVIEWS WITH HEADMASTERS, TEACHERS, MANAGERS, CHIEFS, PARENTS, COMMUNITY MEMBERS, SCHOOL BOARD OF GOVERNORS' MEMBERS</li> </ul>

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS: COMMUNITY SCHOOLS OR CONVENTIONAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS?**

#### **5.0.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter addresses the first research objective which is to examine the meaning of community schooling in the context of Botswana. In particular, the views of those who are involved in the Community Junior Secondary Schools (C.J.S.S.) are looked at to see if there is any compatibility between them. This includes the government, parents, teachers, school heads, students and the Boards of Governors.

As noted in Chapter Two and Three, the C.J.S.S. partnership venture entails the government building the schools whilst the communities are expected to maintain and manage the same. A balanced and efficient partnership requires careful study and identification of community potential and willingness to bear the costs or part of them on a continuous and sustainable basis. However the community involvement is only possible if there is a mutuality of interests with other responsible groups.

#### **5.1.0 THE MEANING OF COMMUNITY SCHOOLING: VIEWS OF THE VARIOUS GROUPS INVOLVED**

##### **5.1.1 The Government's View**

The government's view has been obtained mainly from interviews and discussion with various officials in the Ministry of Education and through analysis of various documents.

As we saw in Chapter Three, up until a few years ago, community schools in Botswana were known as private schools, built by individuals, church organizations and various joint community efforts. However, in 1979, the government decided to change the names of all such schools offering junior secondary education to Community Junior Secondary Schools (C.J.S.S.).

The reasons given for this are first, that the government did not want these schools to be confused with elite private secondary schools in Botswana or abroad. Second, the schools are the product of the communities and have been intended to follow the standard or conventional secondary school syllabus (Thuto, 1985). But is this the only meaning attached to these schools? What is the main objective behind the name change and where does the idea originate.

According to the Chief Education Officer for C.J.S.S.<sup>1</sup>, the idea is based on a recommendation by the 1977 National Commission on Education. That the government should aim at universalization of nine years schooling for all school-age children by the mid-1990's. What reasons or pressures e.g. social or political were prompting such a change? The National Commission's argument was that primary education was insufficient to help individuals to be self-employed given the fact that not many skills could be taught to children at that age-level. However the sudden urgency in pushing the idea of universalization of junior secondary education causes one to speculate that the government was facing a lot of political pressure from the opposition. Moreover, the idea of raising the educational level from primary to junior secondary was a good political stunt given the fact that elections were to be held in 1984<sup>2</sup>. The Commission (N.C.E.) also suggested a structured change from the old seven years primary, three years junior secondary and two years senior secondary to six years primary, three years junior secondary and two years senior secondary education i.e. a change from the 7-3-2 to a 6-3-3 system. Universalization of the middle three years is the government's present priority. Again no clear and good reason is given for this. Because communities have been playing an important role in building schools, the government decided to go into a partnership venture in building the present C.J.S.S. hence the new name. "We want communities to feel part and parcel of these schools"<sup>3</sup>. In the past, these

---

<sup>1</sup> Interview with the Chief Education Officer (C.E.O.) C.J.S.S. Gaborone.

<sup>2</sup> See also Taylor D. and Swartland, J. (1988).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, 10.10.86

schools were built purely on community initiatives or by individuals and varied in their quality and resource base. People generally compared them to the government school and referred to them as 'second grade'. The C.E.O. went on to say:-

Now, wherever you go will find the same type of schools. This is also based on the N.C.E.'s recommendation. The government is now playing a major role in the establishment of these schools and is aiming at producing a fairly equitable type of junior secondary school throughout the country.<sup>4</sup>

Does equitable mean equal both in terms of inputs as well as outputs? Does it mean equal access both in terms of opportunity as well as provision? What is the precise role of both parties? What is actually involved in the C.J.S.S. programme? What steps are taken to build a school and who initiates them?

The equity issue will be tackled later on. With regards to the way in which community schools are set up, first a community school may be initiated by an individual, several people, the community at large or even the local member of parliament who may for example address the residents of the various villages/towns in his constituency on the need to have a C.J.S.S. serving their own communities.

The Minister of Education personally went around the country canvassing the C.J.S.S. idea. Swartland, (1988) notes that "the extent to which the Honourable Minister went about selling the 'community school' idea resulted in the C.J.S.S. being dubbed "Morake" Schools i.e they were nicknamed after him".<sup>5</sup>

The next step is for the Kgosi i.e. Chief of the village to call a meeting for the whole community at the Kgotla (traditional meeting place) and announce the felt need.

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 10.10.86.

<sup>5</sup> See also Tshireletso, L. and Kann, U. (1987).

The third step is for the community to elect several local members who will represent them on the Board of Governors (B.O.G.), that will be responsible for coordinating various activities in the establishment of the school and equally important, in managing the school once it is built. Fourth, the community has to select and allocate a piece of land for the school site. Fifth, the government will then register the school once all of the above steps have been followed together with a few other procedures such as providing details of the catchment area of the school i.e. which community or which communities will the school be specifically serving; how many students does the school hope to enroll and from which primary schools will they be chosen etc. Sixth, the government will send a team of surveyors and planners to come and inspect the site and start preparing the plans.<sup>6</sup> Albeit most plans are standardized, there are a few variations that have to be considered. The government will then build the school and this includes provision of classrooms, laboratories, a library, an administrative block, a multi-purpose block and a few staff houses. The community has to build a kitchen, dining hall, school hall, the remainder of staff houses, maintain the school, employ ancillary staff and take over the responsibility for the recurrent expenditure.

The above steps may seem simple but do not show some of the difficulties and discrepancies which the study will reveal. For example, what happens when only a few people in the community are involved or interested? What happens if the communities do not build some of the required facilities e.g. the staff houses or the school hall? Though the answers to these questions are fully dealt with in Chapter Eight, an attempt is made to look at the main issues here. It would appear from what has been said above that the government is making one big assumption about the C.J.S.S. partnership venture, First, they assume that all communities are the same e.g. in terms of resources and therefore all communities would be equally willing to contribute to the building of staff

---

<sup>6</sup> A special government unit called the Boipelego Ed. Project has been set up to cater for the C.J.S.S. i.e. the building and planning aspects only.

houses or other required facilities. Second, the government is assuming that communities are willing to maintain schools. Past experience shows the government only intervened when they were taking over the schools from the communities.

Third, we note that the government does not show what they will do to see that everyone is involved i.e. all community members are contributing a certain amount of money or providing free labour. Chiefs had the right to punish offenders. The government does not show what 'arm' or invisible hand they will use to enforce their intentions.

In addition it should be noted that this 'norm' in establishing a community school is the ideal which government proposes. No attempt has been made to find out what are the priorities of the communities.

What was being done about the old private/self-help schools that were built before the new partnership venture had been started? The government had decided as early as 1981 to start upgrading these old schools and according to the National Development Plan 1979/85, the target was to upgrade eleven out of these eighteen schools and simultaneously build seven new ones (see also, Thuto 1982:9). By 1982, the Ministry of Education had set up some guidelines to avoid too many schools of poorer quality mushrooming all over the country.

According to the Ministry of Education about 150 C.J.S.S. will be built by the middle of the 1990's (N.D.P. 6, 1986). In 1986, when the current research was being undertaken, there were already forty-five C.J.S.S. in operation (see Appendix 14 and 15). In addition, some district and town councils had given up some of their primary schools to be either wholly converted into C.J.S.S. or to be temporarily used as such until the new premises were ready. In some instances, primary schools were sharing their facilities with C.J.S.S. but as the study will show, this tended to be problematic.

Most schools were located in the Eastern part of the country which is the most densely populated area (see Appendix 14). The Planning Unit (M.O.E.)

had been involved in identifying areas where future schools should be built. Thus, the communities role in actually building the schools on their own initiatives was slowly diminishing. This issue will be referred to again after examining community participation in other areas of the programme. Since the idea was to build day schools as opposed to boarding schools, the planning unit was identifying only those areas where sufficient numbers of children were available within a walking distance of a school.<sup>7</sup> The maximum distance as specified by the Ministry is ten kilometres. Does this mean that the sparsely populated areas would not have schools? Would boarding facilities not be considered in such cases? As the study will show, only one C.J.S.S. has boarding facilities and that the government is slowly being forced into building a few more hostels to cater for the very remote areas.

According to the latest Plan (N.D.P., 1986:125) annual reports of the C.J.S.S. are expected to be presented by the B.O.G.'s to the community at the Kgotla<sup>8</sup> or traditional meeting place (see Appendix 16a). Secondly, most schools are encouraged to have an active Parents Teachers Association (P.T.A.). These two features are disclosed as other ways in which communities can be involved in the affairs of the schools are for the schools to be community-oriented. Having a P.T.A. does not necessarily make a school "community-oriented". Besides, most P.T.A.'s have a narrow range of activities that they are involved in albeit a few are actively involved in such activities. For example in Guyana some P.T.A.'s are very helpful in raising funds (Paul Hamilton and Williams, 1986). Furthermore, most government schools or conventional secondary schools too have P.T.A.'s.

#### 5.1.2 The Parents' Views on C.J.S.S.:

Parents views were obtained from interviews and discussions. Sometimes, the researcher came upon a group of parents on school premises during school

---

<sup>7</sup> Interview with Senior Planning Officer, Planning Unit, M.O.E., Gaborone.

<sup>8</sup> The Kgotla is the traditional meeting place in the village where the Kgosi(Chief) usually calls meetings to address the residents on various community issues.



visits and would then take the opportunity to administer an informal group interview. At times on arrival in a village and whilst locating the C.J.S.S., the researcher would speak to several residents asking them about the school and their impressions on various issues. In at least three instances parents had been visited at their homes and asked about their views on the schools in their locality.

The general contention of most parents was that they were happy to have their own schools, the idea being that their children did not have to walk great distances or travel to far away towns as in the past. Most of the original secondary schools that provided both junior and secondary education are situated in the modern towns or large traditional district capitals. These schools have boarding hostels and in general have better facilities than their community counterparts. So, for students whose homes were situated in small rural villages, it meant travelling to the big government schools in the towns if they had obtained admission through good grades. For most parents, the attitude towards these latter schools had been formed and influenced over the years. The Private schools were the poorer and rated as second grade both in terms of inputs i.e. resources such as laboratories, textbooks, or even the number of trained teachers; or in terms of outputs i.e. the results.<sup>9</sup> Analysis of the results of both types of schools clearly shows the weak performances of these latter type of schools (see Table3.3).

So, how has the new C.J.S.S. programme changed this attitude, if at all it has? The government has converted all the present government schools into senior secondary schools and has thus got rid of the two tier system. With the exception of Maru-A-Pula which is a private school mainly for the élite, the C.J.S.S. are expected to be the same throughout the country as mentioned earlier. Parents were still skeptical about them for two main reasons. First, when the new programme of two year intermediate schooling in the C.J.S.S.

---

<sup>9</sup> See Tshireletso and Kann (1987:22); see also Swarland and Taylor (1988:139-54) in Bray with Lillis (eds.).

had begun in 1985, government schools had still enrolled Form One students. Some parents thought that the government was still favouring particular students. In fact, even in 1986, Form One students had been enrolled in the government schools. However that was to be the last batch before the full implementation of the policy change.

Second, the new C.J.S.S. were working on a catchment area basis i.e. each school was to admit only those students who had done well in the primary school leaving exam. This meant that only those students who had 'A' and 'B' grades were being admitted into the schools. Further, in those communities where there were not enough primary school leavers with the required grades, the C.J.S.S. had to reach out to other 'feeder schools' in the catchment area. Somehow parents felt the C.J.S.S. did not really cater for them after all:

These schools are built to cater for children from other big villages around us where those villages' children cannot get places. We were told to contribute to a school for our own village. So why are there children from other villages in our school? Our own children are not admitted in these schools.<sup>10</sup>

This was a view shared by parents in Gumare.<sup>11</sup> The village headman there told the researcher that their school served several surrounding villages. They had started to build their own school, but then the Minister of Education told them that the government would assist in building the school. They were only expected to build a few staff houses. Once the school was completed, most of the places had been filled by the children of other villages. "Some were even from Maun, which is two hundred and fifty kilometres away", the headmaster noted. Further, the parents of Gumare were annoyed that they had to provide accommodation for all these children from other villages who did not have respect for them.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Parent in Thamaga (24.7.86).

<sup>11</sup> Interview with village headman, Gumare (Nov '86).

<sup>12</sup> See Kann, U., and Tshireletso, L., (1987).

Some parents were quite outspoken about who should run the schools. They felt the government had the know-how on what should be taught. They were happy to have the schools in their villages and to be part of them. They were also happy to contribute to these schools. They were also not sure that they could run the schools:-

Most of us have not much education. The government has the experience. They must take over and manage the schools.<sup>13</sup>

In some instances, schools were named after their founders who were also the managers of these schools e.g Mathiba C.J.S.S. in Kanye. This only strengthened the case for parents in identifying the school as 'our's'. Schools were only being viewed by parents as 'community schools' in terms of they being able to provide education for their children. When asked about their role in the schools, parents said they were not really invited there. A few complained about the headmaster who in most cases would be from another part of the country. This was not true in all cases e.g. in Thamaga, the headmaster was from the same village. Many parents complained about having to donate money over and over again to the school. They all approved of a one-off contribution.

Lillis (1988) raises two important issues about community projects that are pertinent to the C.J.S.S. Study. First he says that "some community projects become mechanisms through which poor people create facilities which are then used by the rich."<sup>14</sup> Parents have been generally complaining about the schools being not really their own because they have been admitting children from other villages. Later on, it will be shown how the C.J.S.S. and the old Private or Self-help schools are similar in this respect i.e. claiming to serve a community but only serving the interests of the minority.

---

<sup>13</sup> Discussion with parents in Tlokweng (Jan '86).

<sup>14</sup> Lillis, K., and Bray, M., with Lillis K., (1988:90).

The second issue is that "Even when schools do not create high direct costs, poor families are often excluded by opportunity costs"<sup>15</sup>. Since 1988, the C.J.S.S. are no longer charging school fees but there are some indirect social and economic costs that parents have to consider. The basic level of schooling has been increased from seven years to nine years. But have the opportunities to seek employment increased? However most parents still see education as a means to seek employment and hence as a long-term investment for the future. Bude (1985:14) contends that "attitudes toward schooling change as soon as even a lengthy period of education no longer automatically guarantees a safe and lucrative job." In Botswana most parents have not yet realized the implications of the new nine year programme. They still view the C.J.S.S. as conventional secondary schools that simply raise the employment potential of their children or enhance their chances for further schooling.

#### 5.1.3 The Students' Views:

Students too were spoken to informally in order to hear their views on the C.J.S.S. When asked what a community school ought to be, most of the students felt that it should be a good secondary school i.e. providing as good a level of secondary education comparable to other government schools. In most C.J.S.S. students tended to compare their schools with the conventional government secondary schools. It was clear that most of them did not understand the new policy of the nine year basic education programme. When told about the government schools that these would now no longer have a form one intake as of 1987, students responded by saying they preferred to be in the towns albeit a few enjoyed being in the villages. Varied reasons were given for preference of schools in towns. A few thought that these schools had better facilities. But mostly, the response was that life was better in towns i.e. it offered more social attractions.

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, p.91.

When asked about their roles in village development students appeared keen to be involved in various village projects. But they all felt the initiatives should come from the teachers. The school time-tables are as such, with afternoon studies or sports activities or even cleaning rotas, that there appears to be no time left for any other work. Most students also have to help at home with family chores. This may also be a reason for students preferring urban schools.

So what do the C.J.S.S. really prepare students for? In order to answer this questions fully we will need to examine the curriculum in more detail and which is attempted in Chapter Seven.

#### 5.1.4 Teachers' Views

Teachers' views were obtained from mailed questionnaires and also from personal interviews and general discussions with them (See Appendix 11 for the Teachers' Questionnaire). Questionnaires were mailed to the forty-five C.J.S.S. operational in 1986, details of which we discussed in Chapter Four. However, out of the 208 questionnaires (56%) that were returned, 112 (54%) were from local teachers whilst the remainder i.e. 96 (46%) were from expatriate teachers.

Teachers views on community schooling can be classified under two major headings:-

- (1) Their own views on community schooling (Appendix 11 Teachers Questionnaire - question No. 13).
- (2) How they viewed what was currently going on in the C.J.S.S. (Question No. 19).

We can classify the responses for the first question above under the following categories:-

- (i) (a) Community based schools - this includes the following sub-categories:
  - i) Communities build their own schools through self-help schemes and manage their own schools (Self Reliance).

- ii) Community showing strong interest in the school and vice-versa i.e. a strong link between the two.
- iii) The community provides funds for various school projects.
- iv) The students take part in village activities and general village-development programmes.

**(b) Community Oriented Education:-**

- i) C.J.S.S. should have their own curriculum related to the needs of the community.
- ii) Community teaches the children/students moral behaviour, cultural values etc.
- iii) The schools should also offer Non-formal education and Adult education.
- iv) Students should learn about community issues and problems.

**(c) Education for the Community:-**

- i) Communities build their own schools because government can't provide them (stop-gap measure).
- ii) Schools are built only to cater for their own communities.
- iii) Schools are decentralized and run at local community level.

Table 5.1 overleaf shows the total number of responses for item (1) above (Question number 18 of the Teachers' Questionnaire) and its categories and sub-categories respectively. The percentages have been rounded up to the nearest whole.

**TABLE 5.1 Teachers' Definitions of Community Schooling:**

CATEGORIES RESPONSE	SUB-CATEGORIES				TOTAL			% NO. OF RESPONSES (to nearest whole)
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	E/T	L/T		
a	33	21	7	2	28	35	63	45%
b	4	8	11	7	17	13	30	21%
c	6	39	3	-	31	17	48	34%
TOTAL					76	65	141	100%

Notes: E/T = Expatriate Teachers  
L/T = Local Teachers.

From the above table we note first that in general question 18 had a good response i.e. 141 responses from the total number of the 208 questionnaires that were returned. Second, there were slightly more responses from the expatriate teachers than from local teachers i.e. 76 compared to 65. Third, in sub-category (c) 'education for the community' we note that of the 48 responses, 31 (65%) were from expatriate teachers. Most expatriate teachers, especially those from Britain, had expected to find the C.J.S.S. as community schools': similar to those in their own countries. For example, some teachers from the U.K. defined 'community schools' as 'community centres' where both adult and young persons could come in and learn various skills or study a number of content subjects. Some had expected to find village schools that had strong community links and in which would be offered courses from various village people as well. In category 1.b. above, sub-category (iii) 'schools should offer non-formal and adult education', more expatriates responded than local teachers although this is not shown on the table. In general the whole sub-category 1.b 'community oriented education', had 17 expatriates responses as opposed to 13 from local teachers. According to those expatriate teachers spoken to, their views had been influenced by their previous understanding of the concept in their own countries.

Teachers views on the current situation of C.J.S.S. Q. No. 19 - Teachers' Questionnaire or the second view mentioned earlier can also be classified under several categories:-

2. (a) Where the C.J.S.S. are regarded as community schools but are weak (or lack) in the following aspects:-

- i) Community support - parents not involved in school activities.
- ii) Curriculum - not related to community needs.
- iii) Link between the school and community - generally weak both ways.

(b) Poorly resourced schools as compared to government schools - lack of proper or sufficient staff houses; materials for teaching purposes; lack of various facilities - sports, transport and teaching.

(c) Joint partnership venture government and communities but problems in the following:-

- i) Lack of government support.
- ii) Too much government support.
- iii) Inactive Board of Governors.
- iv) Some government support but weak community support.

(d) Community Schools by name but under full control of the government.

(e) Other reasons:-

- i) Not familiar with the situation.
- ii) Parents not interested in students work.
- iii) Miscellaneous.

Table 5.2 overleaf shows the responses for each of the above categories.



**TABLE 5.2 TEACHERS VIEWS ON C.J.S.S. (Teachers' Questionnaire No. 19.)**

CATEGORIES	SUB-CATEGORIES				TOTAL NO OF RESPONSES (to nearest whole)			% NO.
	(i)	(ii)	(iii)	(iv)	E/T	L/T		
a	23	8	5	-	22	14	36	22%
b	33	-	-	-	12	21	33	20%
c	7	34	11	5	19	38	57	35%
d	-	-	-	-	2	5	7	4%
e	9	4	16	-	18	13	31	19%
TOTAL					73	91	164	100%

From the above table, we note that first, of the total number of questionnaires received, this item had a 71% response (164 out of 208). Item/Category 2 (a): 'C.J.S.S. as community schools', again more expatriate teachers responded and this is because of their definition/view of community schools as linked to the surrounding community. They noted the lack of community response/support for the schools which was the impression the researcher himself got when visiting most schools. The schools were like 'desert islands' distanced from the communities. Teachers also spoke of the lack of interest by the students in the problems of the villages/communities. But then it should be mentioned that not all students are from the community in which the school is situated.

Second, in category (b) where community schools are compared to government schools, even though there were only 33 responses 64% of these were made by local teachers. It is significant to mention that most Batswana teachers regarded the community schools as conventional junior secondary schools. Their responses show that they regard the C.J.S.S. as inferior to the government schools. The reasons given by the Batswana teachers contacted was that they would have preferred to teach in a government school because they felt that government schools were more prestigious to work in. Some regarded them as high status schools and envied their colleagues there. However with regards to the teaching aspect and quality of students; the teachers were happy in general that at least they were teaching students who

had good grades just like in government schools. Some teachers were skeptical about placing the 'bright' pupils in the C.J.S.S. They felt that this might not be fair for the students who were placed in the 'poorer' schools. However the difference in quality/standards would change shortly with the new policy that all government secondary schools would become senior secondary schools only. In general, even expatriate teachers complained to the researcher about the lack of resources in the C.J.S.S.

Third, under category C — 'joint partnership venture' — there are a total of 57 responses. Of these 38 (67%) of the responses were from local teachers who acknowledged government involvement in the C.J.S.S. Sub-category item C(ii) is classified as respondents saying there is 'too much government support'. Out of the 34 responses 25 (74%) were from local teachers. However this does not literally mean 'too much' because what the Batswana teachers were probably thinking is that there is now more support by government to the communities as compared to the times of the old private/self-help schools. Teachers still strongly believe that these schools were being given an unfair deal as compared to government schools. A lot of resources were available to government schools but were lacking in the C.J.S.S. However it is important to note that a significant number of teachers did believe that the government support was undermining the community self-help spirit. Already most schools were complaining about lack of community support in various schools activities and projects.

Finally, there were very few responses on the relevance of curriculum — sub-category a(ii) — 'curriculum not related to community needs'. There were a total of 21 responses (33%) out of 63. The main points were that teachers felt (a) it was not practical enough. But on this a few did acknowledge that with 'Agriculture' made compulsory and with the optional subject of Technical Studies; which is a combination of some woodwork, metalwork and technical drawing, there was a fair component on the practical side; and (b) Teachers in

general felt that even with Agriculture offered as a compulsory subject, students were not prepared well enough to go out and face the real world of unemployment i.e.. the students are not given any relevant skills which they can apply in trying to create jobs for themselves. Relevance of the curriculum is usually a thorny issue for most governments. The curriculum of the C.J.S.S. is discussed in Chapter Seven

#### 5.1.5 The Boards of Governors (B.O.G.) Views:

B.O.G.'s views were obtained both from personal interviews mainly with B.O.G. chairpersons and in some instances, the vice chairpersons. In some cases, other B.O.G. members have also been met. In addition, all B.O.G. chairpersons who are also the school managers, were sent a questionnaire. From the 45 schools, only 18 (40%) of these returned the questionnaires. Furthermore, the researcher managed to interview seven managers who had not returned the questionnaires and three who had. It was difficult to meet the school managers as most of them are businessmen and were thus busy doing their jobs. It should be remembered that B.O.G. posts with the exception of the secretaries who are the school heads, are all held by various community members on a voluntary basis.

In defining 'Community Schooling' responses were very brief. In general, most of the managers defined the term as schools that were built on community or self-help basis. Or, as schools that were initiated by the community. A few (3) of the responses defined the schools as being a relief to parents in helping to cut-down on social and economic costs. Parents especially in rural areas have had to send their children away in the past and this obviously meant that every time the children wanted to visit their parents or vice-versa, it was costing the parents a lot of money. Most of the parents could not afford to visit their children and that it was a general inconvenience to be separated — children were still too small to have to be sent away from their homes.

In explaining the current situation of C.J.S.S. almost all the school managers were unhappy about 'too much government involvement'. It is interesting to see how the managers were comparing the present situation of the C.J.S.S. with the old Private Self-help schools. Under the old system, the communities (via B.O.G.'s) employed their own teachers, charged their own school fees, enrolled whom they wanted to. Now the government makes all the decisions. They were most unhappy about student selection and enrolment into Form One. The argument here was that the government was filling up spaces in C.J.S.S. with students from other villages. The B.O.G. like most of the parents the researcher spoke to felt the C.J.S.S. should only enroll students from the immediate community around the school. The government's view was that schools were serving a catchment area and since there were still not enough schools to admit all students who completed their primary education, only those students who got A or B grades should be admitted first from the catchment area and if there were still places only then should some of the grade C's from the community be selected.

School managers felt that all decisions about the schools should really be made in their presence. There was some confusion on administrative affairs *per se* as opposed to financial and managerial considerations. The researcher got the feeling that there was a power-struggle going on here. Deciding on who to enrol, employing teachers and on what the headmaster/headmistress should do, all involve power and raises questions of who decides and at what level, (c.f. Chapter Eight).

The managers felt that since these were community schools, the communities should be allowed to make some of the decisions. Some managers spoke at length about the problems that C.J.S.S. were causing for parents with regard to accommodation.<sup>16</sup> They felt that the government should seriously consider boarding facilities for students from other villages. They also

---

<sup>16</sup> For example, Manager of Tshwaragano C.J.S.S. Maun, Nov. 1986.

expressed concern about the role of the village headman who they felt should more strongly encourage the community to take a more active part in the C.J.S.S. programme. What kinds of activities were managers talking about? It was always about money! Most of the ordinary community members are poor. How can they be expected to contribute money on a regular basis? Issues of finance are examined in Chapter Eight.

#### **5.1.6 The Views of The Headmasters/Headmistresses on Community Schooling.**

The head's views were obtained through questionnaires and personal interviews. Out of the 45 C.J.S.S. only 24 (53%) of the questionnaires were returned. The heads' definitions of the C.J.S.S. ranged from schools built by and for the communities because of the lack of schools provided by government; schools built and run by the communities; schools built by and for the communities etc. Most of the definitions focussed on the self-help nature of the communities. This was partly due to the nature of community schooling in Botswana which has its roots in the pre-independence era.

Schools had been built on a purely self-help basis but modelled on conventional (government) secondary schools except that most of these were of a poorer quality than government schools. However the new C.J.S.S. were now regarded as fairly equal when compared to each other though still inferior to government schools.

With regard to how much the heads viewed the problems of current C.J.S.S., the responses were quite varied and include:

- Weak community links, community shows lack of interest;
- Communities (B.O.G.'s) used as a 'rubber-stamp' but decision making in the hands of the Ministry of Education.
- A partnership venture but with government being the major decision-maker.

- Some schools not initiated by communities and therefore are not keen in helping in various school projects.
- Communities role after the schools are built diminishes.

The above views are views that have been expressed by teachers as well as some of the B.O.G.'s members. In general the feeling about the present situation in C.J.S.S. is that the communities have left a lot of responsibilities in the hands of the headmaster. The B.O.G. members do not visit schools regularly so the onus is on the school itself to get things done.

## 5.2.0 CONCLUSION

In this chapter on the views on community schooling and on the C.J.S.S., we note that parents show a general misunderstanding of policy. Most parents thought the schools were meant for all children in their communities. Why has there been a misunderstanding? Tshireletso and Kann (1987) say that the main reason could be the poor dissemination of information about policy changes and what was intended. Even though the Ministry of Education officials did go around the villages telling the people about the community schools, selling the idea of building schools rapidly which in itself was a political goal, became the priority (see also Swartland and Taylor 1988). It was only in the implementation stage that the ordinary people began to realize what the programme really meant. — to the majority, the C.J.S.S. mean schools for all.

Students on their part want the best for themselves. They preferred to be away from their homes; they wanted to be in towns; they prefer to live in hostels. They still compare the C.J.S.S. with the government secondary schools which are now senior secondary schools.

Teachers tended to compare their positions in the C.J.S.S. with their counterparts in the government schools. They complained bitterly about the poor housing and poor resources, lack of materials etc. They define community schooling in terms of parental interest in the students work and their financial

support to the schools or lack of it. Why did teachers appear so unenthusiastic about the C.J.S.S.?

According to Dove (1982b), the participation of the community in the development of the school and in particular the role of the teacher in community development are indeed valuable objectives. However not much has been done to change 'the teachers profile on the one hand and the community ethos on the other'. Teacher-participation and teacher education are discussed in Chapter Seven.

The three groups above all appear to be apprehensive about the C.J.S.S. programme. Even though, the schools are now better resourced, the student input is the same i.e. all 'good' students, there is still uncertainty. The old private schools had a stigma as being rated as poor schools and this has not yet left the mind of all these groups that are involved.

The board members and school managers on their part viewed the C.J.S.S. in terms of control. They compared their roles to the old private schools where a lot of decision-making was in their hands. Now, most decision-making was not in their hands i.e. decisions were made for them. There was a power-struggle with Heads of schools as well. The government have expressed their view that strict accountability and central control of some aspects e.g. provision of trained teachers, school curriculum, and students enrolment will help ensure equity and thus help improve quality.

Have these objectives been met? Are they being pursued at the expense of other things e.g. community participation? Hopefully some of the answers to these questions will be provided later on in the thesis albeit it may be too soon to attempt to answer some of them as the C.J.S.S. programme has only just begun.

The views by teachers and parents on community initiatives on the building of schools reveal that community involvement is diminishing. In the past,

communities built their own schools entirely. Government involvement has both advantages and disadvantages.

The main advantage is that planned activity helps overcome the problem of overcrowding of schools in one region or place. The government also helps to overcome different school standards i.e. inequality due to lack of resources or untrained teachers.

Government intervention also has its problems. In Chapter Three we have noted that the government intervention in the schools e.g. the tribal schools or national schools built through the initiatives of Dikgosi ended up in a total take-over bid by the former. Government intervention in the C.J.S.S. programme has a few implications. First, communities may expect their role to be peripheral and temporary which is the exact opposite of the government's intention. Second, the government has not made allowances for 'poorer' communities. Third, the government has not shown what measures it will take for those communities that will not meet their side of the requirements such as building half the required number of staff houses.

Having looked at the meanings and views that the concerned groups have about the C.J.S.S. we now move on to look at the links that these schools have established with their communities and vice versa.



## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **LINKS BETWEEN SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES**

#### **6.0.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter focusses on the second research objective which is to establish the links between schools and their communities. In particular, there is a focus on sharing of resources, social services and leadership roles between the schools and their communities. The chapter is divided into two parts — the first looks at the schools within the context of their communities and examines the significance of school names, school locations, facilities, recruitment of students and boarding facilities. The second part examines the links between the schools and their communities.

#### **PART A**

##### **6.1.0 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE NAMES OF SCHOOLS:-**

In Papua New Guinea, primary schools are officially called community schools with the aim that these schools would become open to adults as well as children. In the end, apart from the names nothing else changed (Bray 1982/3; Kemmelfield 1972). In Botswana, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the government decided to call all the private/self-help schools and the new partnership schools — Community Junior Secondary Schools (C.J.S.S.). In addition, the names of the schools can be classified under the following categories:-

- a) Where the school takes the name of the town or village in which it is located e.g. Ramotswa C.J.S.S. or Mahalapye C.J.S.S. At least 14 (31%) from the 45 schools in the study came under this category.
- b) Where the schools are named after the area/district in which they are founded, e.g. Chobe C.J.S.S. in Kasane (Chobe District); or Ngwaketse in Kanye (Ngwaketse signifying the home for the Ba Ngwaketse); Okavango C.J.S.S. in Gumare. 22% of the schools came under this category.

- c) Where the school is named after its founder or Chief e.g. Mathiba C.J.S.S. in Kanye where Mathiba is the founder/manager; Linchwe C.J.S.S. in Mochudi where Linchwe is the Chief. (13% came under this category).
- d) Where schools are named after an important feature in the area or village e.g. Molopo River C.J.S.S. in Phitsane Molopo; Makome Hill C.J.S.S. in Mmadinare; Baratani C.J.S.S. in Otse.
- e) Where the name signifies the self-help effort of the community e.g. Itsekeng C.J.S.S. in Ghantsi; Ipelegeng and Itireleng in Lobatse; Tshegetsang in Molepolele (about 13% came under this category).

In trying to establish from the school managers/chairpersons of the school boards whether or not they felt that calling these schools "community schools" would elicit further community support, the following responses were obtained:- 60% of the managers agreed that the name change was useful in identifying the communities in which the schools were built and would encourage more support; 19% disagreed to the fact that changing the name encouraged any support, 12% felt that it made no difference.

The school heads on the other hand felt that it was useful to call these schools "Community Schools" because they were community based and the names were significant to the particular community.

The question is what significance does the name of the C.J.S.S. have in establishing closer links with the community? We have noted above how various community members identify themselves with 'their' school. We will show later (see Chapter Eight) how useful this identity is in raising funds from those community members who have moved away from the rural areas into towns. Before we examine school and community links, we need to look also at the building aspects of schools, and where they are located; the resources; we also need to look at recruitment procedures — all these aspects provide some useful insights in understanding of C.J.S.S. and how they function.

## 6.2.0 SCHOOL LOCATION AND FACILITIES

### 6.2.1 The School Site

It is the government's intention to build C.J.S.S. all over the country which will cater for the intermediate or middle 3 years of junior secondary education of the new 6-3-3 system being introduced. According to the Deputy Permanent Secretary (M.O.E.).

There will be one national network of intermediate schools in Botswana all with broadly similar facilities. There will be no best and no second best. All will be of equal standing.<sup>1</sup>

As you enter some of the villages, the sight of the new C.J.S.S. will catch your eye immediately. The new buildings at Otse for example have tin/corrugated roofs and brightly painted walls with a beautiful geometric pattern — usually bright red and wide verandahs, (see Figure 4). In the opinion of some people, the designs reflect a traditional setting so that the C.J.S.S. are not strange buildings in familiar surroundings. Unfortunately the latter is what they appear to be in most villages. First, in the rural areas, most houses are thatched and built with the usual mud walls with the occasional modern buildings. Even the primary school buildings by comparison look old-fashioned or outdated! The C.J.S.S. with their big security fences around them in no way appear to match their surroundings. Second, in some villages the schools are located on the outskirts or in some remote part that would take a fairly long time to reach with a long, winding and bad road leading you there. The first thought that comes across one's mind is 'why is this school so misplaced?'. As most managers of the C.J.S.S. will tell you it is because the school needed a fairly large plot of land and because of the special way in which the village is laid out, the only place available was on the outskirts. Most villages in Botswana are arranged in a series of concentric circles around the centre which is where the Kgotla or tribal headquarters will be situated. Around the Kgotla will be a number of

---

<sup>1</sup> Thuto, M.O.E. Gaborone, (1982).

**FIGURE 5: PHOTOGRAPH OF NEW COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS**



**PARWE C.J.S.S. — MAHALATSWE**



**LEHUTSHELO C.J.S.S. — HUKUNTSI**

**Notes: -**

- 1. The new C.J.S.S. are eye catching with bright colours and beautiful geometric patterns on the outside walls.**
- 2. C.J.S.S. are usually located on the periphery of most villages and have high security fences around them and wide verandahs.**

di Kgatlana (wards) with each group of people having their headman or Kgosana. So even though there appears some open space in various parts of the village the community had to consider whether or not any of the di Kgatlana would not need the space for future expansion. To avoid conflicts in most cases, a neutral ground/plot was chosen. However it should be noted that most C.J.S.S. are not centrally located in their communities.

There are two designs that have been used in constructing the C.J.S.S. The first design was used for the old private self-help schools that were given a 'face lift'. However a few C.J.S.S. that were built through private funding (e.g. via a Church organization) such as Montshiwa at Pitsane, also used this design. Tshegetsang C.J.S.S. at Molepolole, Matlala in Tlokweng are examples of schools that were renovated (see Figure 5). The second design is of the new schools mentioned earlier, which is now being used as a standard design for all new C.J.S.S. (refer to Figure 4).

From the above we note that C.J.S.S.'s are now being made more attractive through the use of bright colours and designs. They appear to be a prominent feature in the villages or towns where they are located. Generally, the community members are happy to have modern buildings even though the schools do not match with the surroundings.

According to Bray (1988) if using local resources such as thatch and mud is not an issue, then it would be better to use permanent material such as cement and corrugated iron as this would be long lasting and therefore more efficient in the long run. Furthermore, village people may not want the schools to look like their huts or other houses made from local resources because of past traditions of school buildings which have always been built of cement and bricks with corrugated iron. Traditional architecture was self-sufficient. The poor rural people were able to make their own houses with their own labour out of local resources, without involving any cash expenditures or expensive concrete



**FIGURE 6: PHOTOGRAPHS OF OLD PRIVATE SELF-HELP SCHOOLS  
BEING RENOVATED TO NEW C.J.S.S. STANDARDS**



**PALAPYE C.J.S.S. — PALAPYE**



**BOBONONG C.J.S.S. — BOBONONG**

Notes: -  
Old Private Self-Help Schools were being upgraded to the standards of the new C.J.S.S.

imports. However, the people would like the schools to be as modern as they can be. Most village people spoken to including teachers and headmasters, liked the new C.J.S.S. designs.

#### **6.2.2 The Buildings and Other Facilities:**

Classrooms are usually built in double blocks and the numbers of these will depend on the planned enrolment of the school. Each school also has a science room which is not a fully equipped laboratory but has some basic equipment; a library; a multi-purpose block which is divided into two-one room for technical studies and another for home economics; wide verandahs with book lockers around the main building (usually the multi-purpose block); an administrative block which includes a staffroom, administration offices such as the headmaster's office and one for the bursar and another for the deputy headmaster, an office for the secretary/typist and telephone receptionist, two out-door teaching areas — one with a roof/shelter and an open one; an out-door cooking area nick-named 'the perculatory' for the Home Economics class; a school garden used for the Agricultural Science class and a large, high-security fence around the school compound. All these buildings are provided by the government together with at least 50% of staff houses that are built usually near the school premises. In addition to the above, the communities have to provide a kitchen which in most schools visited by the researcher has been a temporary make-shift shelter; a dining-room/hall which no school has yet built, and a large school hall which again has not been built; the remainder of staff houses which varied from school to school (but will be discussed in more detail later).

The schools situated in towns and large villages or those near the rail road in the Eastern part of the country have easy access to electricity, water supply, telephone installation and other amenities. The schools in the rural areas especially in the remote areas lacked at least some of these amenities. As

explained in Chapter One, the Eastern part of the country is more developed compared to the other parts. In general rural areas are found lacking in important amenities when compared to urban ones. Moreover, there is a further dichotomy between large rural villages and small, remote areas (See e.g. Campbell, A., 1977; Allison, 1983).

In Table One below, we seek to examine the distribution of various resources in the schools throughout the country. The information was obtained from the Headmaster's Questionnaires (Appendix 12, question no. 11) obtained from 24 out of 45 schools.

**TABLE 6.1: SERVICES AVAILABLE IN C.J.S.S. 1986 JAN.**

FACILITY HAVING FACILITY	% OF SCHOOLS NOT (ROUNDED)	NO.'s
ELECTRICITY	63	15
WATER	21	5
SCHOOL RADIO	58	14
FILM PROJECTOR	75	18
SLIDE PROJECTOR	83	20
OVER-HEAD PROJECTOR	71	17
LIBRARY	58	14
DESK FOR EACH STUDENT	29	7
GARDEN	8	2
STAFF HOUSES	79	19

The above table shows that most schools were still lacking in many of the facilities. In addition, at least four schools did not have any of the above mentioned facilities at all because they had just shifted or recently opened to the new premises. Three schools were awaiting to be connected to the electricity and water supply. But for the bulk of the schools there was still no decision as to when they were going to get electricity. The government was looking into the matter and one possibility was to connect the schools on to district council generators that were supplying some of the government institutions with electricity. The councils were reacting negatively to this saying



that their generators often broke down and even though most councils always ran two or even three generators so as to have back-ups in times of failures, they weren't all in working order. The managers were trying to raise funds to buy their own 'plants' and also to get the other facilities mentioned above. The headmasters felt the onus was on them because they did not think the managers or the B.O.G. as a whole really cared. They said that once the buildings were up, the role of the B.O.G.'s became less and less prominent.

With regards to libraries, it is surprising that so many schools did not have one yet. Three schools were awaiting the buildings to be completed. Two schools that had libraries had no books yet!

Probably one of the main thorny issues in the C.J.S.S. is about staff-housing. 79% of the Headmasters still noted that they had no housing for their staff albeit a few meant that it was inadequate. For the few schools that indicated that they had houses they noted that it was still insufficient. In most of the schools that were visited, the required number of houses had not been built. One of the differences that exists vis a vis housing in the C.J.S.S. is that for schools in towns such as Selibe Phikwe or Lobatse, the government was not providing any houses as they felt that the teachers could apply for houses from the Botswana Housing Cooperation (B.H.C.) like all the other civil servants. The teachers were not pleased about such a decision because they compared themselves to teachers 'just across the road' in the government schools who had school houses and in most cases these were subsidized by the schools. Most of the teachers I spoke to at Itireleng C.J.S.S. or Ipelegeng C.J.S.S. in Lobatse preferred to stay as tenants in the community rather than seek B.H.C. housing which they felt was rather expensive.

For schools in rural areas, housing standards varied. In Bobonong, the community had built all the houses for the staff. The houses were of poor quality and did not have facilities such as toilets or bathrooms in them. There was a tap in the backyard of each houses and there were two toilets for all the staff which

were placed about 100 metres away from the houses, though there were other toilets in the school. It was a very bad situation for staff. Two of the Batswana teachers were relating how much they cried when they first arrived there. The road to Bobonong leading from Selibe Phikwe the nearest town was being tarred but the side road used at the time was in very bad shape. The village did not have many facilities but at least there were more facilities here than in Gumare, where many teachers were staying in huts and were 250 kilometres away from the nearest town!

In some schools such as Maun Secondary School, where both the government and the community had built houses, one could tell the community-built houses from the government ones just by looking at them. Most teachers had to stay in the village because there were not enough staff houses yet. Besides it was cheaper to rent a hut or two in the village. But just across the road was the government school which had houses for the staff and they had electricity and the rent was subsidized.

Transport was another important issue. Nearly all C.J.S.S. do not have a vehicle for the school whereas all the government schools have two or three. However according to the government, the C.J.S.S. should where possible use council transport. The headmasters felt this was unfair to the schools because the councils needed advance notice; and usually there was not sufficient transport available. One of the effects the lack of transport had on the C.J.S.S. was that most of these schools could not take part in sports at inter-zonal or inter-school level. Even on a day-do-day basis, the schools needed some form of transport. For example, when food ran short the headmaster would have to ask one of the teachers or B.O.G. members who had a car to go and buy the necessary items. Some B.O.G.s had some money to compensate for the use of the Headmaster's vehicle to buy food or necessary goods/items needed by the school. Other schools had no such allowances and so some headmasters were greatly perturbed by these differences. The schools that suffered the most

because of lack of transport (as one possible reason albeit there could be other reasons for this) were those in very remote areas such as Gumare C.J.S.S. in the Okavango District and Lehutshelo in the Kgalagadi District. These schools sometimes get their stationery and textbooks that were due for the beginning of the 1st term well into the 2nd or even 3rd terms! Food supplies also were not very regular.

### **6.3.0 RECRUITMENT OF STUDENTS:-**

Defining the concept of "community" is not an easy exercise as shown in Chapter Two where the definition in the Botswana context is also looked at. Basically it is based on Williams' (1985:12) view that a community could be defined as 'a group of people who share social, economic and cultural interests.....'.

Most schools lie within a village or town and are usually meant to serve part or all of the community depending of course on the number of primary schools in the locality. However most parents thought that the schools were meant to serve their communities only. But according to the government policy for C.J.S.S., selection into these schools will depend on mainly the grades of a student and whether he or she comes from a primary school within the catchment area for the particular C.J.S.S. Priority is given to students who have either an 'A' or 'B' grade in the Primary school leaving exam (P.S.L.E.). This therefore means that each C.J.S.S. works on a 'feeder-system' where students are selected first from the nearest Primary school and then the rest of the places are filled up by students from other schools in the catchment area. In large towns or villages, the catchment area is restricted to that particular town or village because there are usually enough schools to 'feed-in' to the C.J.S.S. But where C.J.S.S. are situated in smaller villages, the feeder-system has to reach out into the whole catchment area i.e. including the surrounding villages/towns. So quite obviously the number of children from surrounding

villages will influence the type of community a school has. Table 6.2 below examines the enrolment figures of a few schools for which data was available.

**TABLE 6.2: TRENDS IN ENROLMENT PATTERNS OF C.J.S.S.**

NAME OF SCHOOL	DISTRICT	N.S.C.	N.S.O.C	T.N.S	%S.O.C.
1. MAHALAPYE C.J.S.S.	CENTRAL	202	41	243	17%
2. LEHUTSHELO C.J.S.S.	KGALAGADI	88	46	134	35%
3. PELAELO C.J.S.S.	NORTH EAST	91	130	121	25%
4. IPELEGENG C.J.S.S.	LOBATSE (*TOWN) SOUTHERN DIST. AREA	132	5	137	4%

N.S.C. = No. of students from catchment area.

N.S.O.C. = No. of students from outside catchment area.

T.N.S. = Total no. of students.

%S.O.C. = % of students from outside catchment area.

The first school in the above table (Mahalapye C.J.S.S.), is in a large village/rural town on the main road and railway line about half way from Gaborone (the capital city) to Francistown in the North, another large town. Most of the students are from Mahalapye and its catchment area. Mahalapye has one government (now a Senior Secondary School) and another C.J.S.S. The 41 children (17%) from outside the catchment area are from as far as Palapye (50 km away), Serowe (100 Km away) and some from other surrounding villages. Mahalapye C.J.S.S., to a large extent depends on the immediate community for its support. It could be regarded as a community based school. It has enough primary schools within its own locality to make it a viable school. According to the headmaster, even though there are other schools in the village, funding or community support is not so much a problem:-

Only recently we had a picnic by the riverside and sold lots of food and drinks to raise funds. It was quite a success. The only problem is you have to keep on chasing people.

The second school, Lehutshelo is situated in the Kgalagadi desert about 450 km to the west of Gaborone. Though the school is based at Hukuntsi it is meant to serve three other remote villages. Fortunately the four villages are in a circle and about fifteen kilometres apart. The problem arose in deciding where to build the school. Two major issues were involved which to a large extent determined where the school should be situated and these are (a) availability of water and (b) the size of the village and accommodation facilities. In the end Hukuntsi was chosen because the other villages are smaller settlements. Fortunately, the government decided to provide a hostel for Lehutshelo which makes it the only C.J.S.S. with a hostel. But before the new school had been built together with its hostel, the four villages started the school at Lehututu using the facilities of one of the primary schools there. The interesting point to note is that when a situation arises where a school has to serve several villages, the onus falls on the community where the school is situated to provide the necessary resources although it can be seen that here the concept of "community" is intended to cover all the four villages for whom the school was built. According to both the manager and the headmaster of the school, it is very difficult to call meetings or to raise funds even though the school is meant for all four villages. Besides, they felt that to a large extent it was the village in which the school was situated that had to take the responsibility of looking after the affairs of the school. Some of the headmasters who found themselves in similar situations described above said that the surrounding villages want their own schools and that is why they are not interested in attending meetings or in giving any contributions to the school.

The third school in Table 7.2 is Pelaelo C.J.S.S. It also depends on support from surrounding villages and therefore has an 'extended community'. It has as many as 25% of its students from outside its catchment area. This has tremendous repercussions on accommodation which is discussed in the next section.

The fourth school, Ipelegeng is situated in Lobatse which is one of the oldest towns in the country. The school itself has a long history and started off as a private/self-help community school. Lobatse like Mahalapye has many primary schools and therefore the catchment area does not exceed beyond Lobatse itself. From the low figure of 4% of students from outside the catchment area it is easy to judge that 'pe'legeng is therefore fairly much a town based or community based school. But unlike Mahalapye, the concept of community in a town differs from that in a rural village. The people in the village feel that the schools in the towns will prosper and expand fairly rapidly and become well resourced because of the 'type' of community in towns. Their expectations are that in the towns there are more people earning money; more shops/businesses and therefore the schools are at an advantage compared to the schools in rural areas. Quite to the contrary though, the schools based in towns feel that they lack a true 'community spirit'. They feel that most people in towns are only there for the jobs even though most of them have been living all their lives there! Still, the school authorities feel that it is difficult to enmass community support in towns.

One important point is that all the schools are now implementing the new policy of admitting students from their catchment areas. For most schools, fewer students are taken from outside their catchment areas. But, as mentioned earlier this could mean several villages as far away as 100 km or even more and that the village in which the school is built feels that the onus is on them to really run the school rather than a joint community effort as intended by the concerned parties. An interesting phenomena can be observed in the data with regards to form three enrolments for the C.J.S.S. With the new policy of schools enrolling students from the catchment area being implemented is also the implementation of the temporary structural change of C.J.S.S. only offering Form one and Form two instead of the three years of junior secondary education. This of course is expected to be a temporary arrangement before the

proposed structural change of a 6-3-3 system begins. Some schools have the old three streams but most of the new ones have just the new two streams. However from 1988 there will no longer be form three in the C.J.S.S. If we look at the figures of form two enrolments for those schools that have Form three this year we will note that the figures for these students reflect a high percentage of students from outside the catchment areas! These schools that have were enrolling students before the new policies/regulations for C.J.S.S. were made. They therefore had no restrictions to 'catchment' areas and could take on students from anywhere in the country. But these (schools) were then known as private self-help schools so why that many students from outside the catchment areas? There were also no restrictions for these schools to take on only A's and B's from the primary school completers. If we look at the schools in Table 6.2 Mahalapye C.J.S.S. and Ipelengeng C.J.S.S. both have Form 3 streams. The number of students from outside the catchment area is shown as 57 (34%) of a total of 167 enrolled for Mahalapye. The question is why such a high number? The reason is that most of the old private schools charged high fees and thus depended a lot on outside students rather than students necessarily from their own villages/towns they were meant to serve. What is amazing is how parents are worried about the new C.J.S.S. taking in students from other villages or towns but they fail to realize that the old private/self-help schools were only catering for parents who could afford the fees!

#### 6.4.0 BOARDING VS. DAY SCHOOLS:

Throughout the history of secondary education in Botswana, the big and famous secondary schools have always been boarding schools. This includes the first secondary schools in the pre-independence era such as Moeng College and St. Joseph's College which were built either through community efforts as in the case of the former or via missionary efforts as in the case of the latter. Even the large tribal/national schools such as Seepapitso Secondary

School, Molefe Secondary, Kgari Sechele etc. were all boarding schools. All those schools with the exception of Moeng College are in large towns or rural towns or in their vicinity.

The N.C.E. (1977) had recommended that the present C.J.S.S. should be day schools because (a) they would be cheaper to build and (b) they would be nearer home for most students who in the past unfortunately had to go to the boarding schools at the tender age of 13-15 years and be away from their families and homes.

According to Ash Hartwell, the team leader of the Junior Secondary Education Improvement Project, (J.S.E.I.P.),

Approximately half of the pupils in Botswana live in villages that are too small to support a two stream C.J.S.S. which includes all those villages of less than 500 people.<sup>2</sup>

This goes to show therefore that it will be difficult to avoid building hostels for many of the C.J.S.S. (See Appendix 17). Let us examine the effects of cases where no hostels are provided. This has been alluded to in the previous section and as was shown in the case of Mahalapye or Lobatse (Ipelegeng), these are large towns and therefore it may be easier to accommodate children from outside the catchment area when compared to e.g. Pelaelo C.J.S.S. in the North East District (Refer to Table 6.2). This school is based in a fairly small village called Makaleng. The next nearest village is about 10 km away which is the M.O.E.'s recommended maximum distance for walking to a school for a child in Botswana. But a good number of children are from villages farther than 10 km (as much as 40 km away in fact!). So, most of the children have to seek accommodation in the village where the school is located. This is costly to the parents both socially and financially as will be discussed later. Another example that could be cited is Gumare in the Ngamiland District (N.W.). Here the school, Okavango C.J.S.S. is supposed to support about six villages which

---

<sup>2</sup> Ministry of Education "Sec. Working Group - issues for phases 4-6 of C.J.S.S. expansion Programme (mimeo) September 1986.



include Etsha, Sephupa, Seronga and Betsa. All of these villages lie in the catchment area for this school. Betsa is about 300 km away in one of the most difficult terrains of the country (i.e. to travel through by road) across the Okavango Swamps. According to the headmaster for the school, there are times when students from the distant villages had arrived as late as the third week of the new term due to transport problems. The only transport available is Government/Council trucks and sometimes even these are difficult to have access to in the remote areas. Apart from this is the fact that all the children from these surrounding villages have to seek accommodation in Gumare. According to the manager of the school the residents in the local community were not happy about accommodating so many students from other villages. The reason given was that they thought the school was meant for their own children. They were not pleased to have to accommodate other children when their own children were not allowed places in it.

Parents were also complaining about the discipline level of students from other villages:

They don't listen to us and they are rude. They will spoil our children. We are afraid of pregnancies that will increase.<sup>3</sup>

The headmaster felt that it was costing parents money to travel to and fro to visit their children or vice versa. In addition these children had to pay rent for their accommodation. Gumare is a small village (5-10,000) and has just a few basic amenities such as a cooperative store, a small general store and two bottle stores. Some teachers did make a comment to the effect that there may be some form of exploitation by village landlords in renting huts to students from other villages. This opinion is also expressed by Taylor and Swartland (1988).

In this section we have covered a number of issues that need to be examined more carefully. First, what significance is there for educational policy

---

<sup>3</sup> Headman and parents, Gumare, (8.11.86).

in the changing of names of the old private schools? The name change is more for political reasons really, so that communities can identify themselves with the institutions. One of the strategies that the Ministry used in canvassing the idea of C.J.S.S. was to go around country speaking to communities. It was emphasized that the schools 'belong to the communities'. Therefore the schools have been named by the communities themselves and this could imply, even if very remotely, one way of linking school and community. But as the study shows, people are generally losing interest in the schools.

Second, with regards to access, the C.J.S.S. are still new and so people are generally excited as more students are able to have nine years basic education. There is much dissatisfaction that not all are admitted into the C.J.S.S. Clearly the significance here is that parents still attach a strong value to education but what will happen as they begin to discover that there are no jobs for their children? Tshireletso and Kann (1987) strongly state that the government has a hard task ahead to both change this attitude and to make the C.J.S.S. Programme more relevant for the school leaver.

Third, an equity issue that is touched upon is that community support varies according to the size and 'type' of catchment area. The effects of this are clearly observable on accommodation, links between the school and community and financing all of which will be respectively discussed under separate headings below with the exception of school financing which will be examined in Chapter Eight.

The issue at stake here is how can the inequality caused by the different size of the communities and/or catchment area be overcome? The alternative of building hostels has been discussed above. But the implication is that these will have to be built by the government. A few hostels are inevitable in the long run. But what about the villages in which hostels will not be provided? Community hostels are one possibility — only one village has attempted to provide such a facility and that is Zwenshambe. However the C.J.S.S. soon discovered that

village hostels are problematic because a) who maintains them and b) how to maintain student discipline? c) whose responsibility should it be in providing basic facilities such as water and electricity? In order to build a community hostel, communities will require more resources and they will have to employ full time personnel which again means more costs which nobody wants to know about!

The other alternative is to build small day schools and these could be just one or two teacher run schools. Bray (1987) examines the cost-effectiveness of such schools (see also, Chisman, 1987) but notes that they are not universally liked. However the government has to assess the social, economic and educational factors involved before ruling out this alternative. Small schools also imply that fewer teachers will be required but who will be "all purpose" trained to administer the schools and teach all subjects.

## **PART B**

### **6.5.0 SERVICES TO AND OF THE COMMUNITY**

The N.D.P.6. (1985/91:123) under the section on Education - priorities and objectives has as one of its main aims:-

To strengthen cooperation between the school and the community by encouraging increased participation of the community in management of schools.

Each C.J.S.S. has locally elected B.O.G. members with a few ex-officio members that represent various government levels/ministries which is one way that the school has a direct link with the community. The main role of the B.O.G. is examined in Chapter 8 but for the moment it is necessary to mention that it is responsible for the construction of the school in the sense that it liaises with the community in acquiring land for the school site, collecting funds to build staff houses, a kitchen and dining hall. The B.O.G. is also responsible for the general management of the school which refers to hiring of ancillary staff and being in charge of the recurrent expenditure of the school.

But apart from the B.O.G., the National Commission (1977:120) recommended that the school and community links should be strengthened via the following activities:- shared facilities, social services, community leadership and development projects. These will be looked at in more detail below. Information on these activities was mainly obtained through analysis of questionnaires, interviews and observations during school visits. (See Headmasters Questionnaire — Q. no. 30-33 and no. 35; B.O.G. Questionnaire — Q. 21, 22 and 27). (Appendices 12 and 13).

#### 6.5.1 Shared Facilities

By this, the N.C.E. meant where schools premises can be made available to various groups in the community for both academic and recreational activities during the times when these facilities are not being used by the students or the school. The commission probably took it for granted that it would be a one way relationship. However as the research will show the communities also have facilities that the schools could use.

In most instances where new C.J.S.S. buildings were not ready for use yet, the communities were providing various facilities e.g. church halls; councils were also providing various places like the community hall and offices. Councils were also in some instances, providing the C.J.S.S. the use of primary schools. This meant either sharing the facilities with a primary school i.e. part of the primary school would be temporarily allocated to the C.J.S.S. and sometimes this included some of the offices and store-rooms, or as in some villages, a whole primary school was given to the C.J.S.S. and the new buildings were built either on a different site or around the old Primary School.

The sharing of facilities between primary schools and C.J.S.S. was not necessarily a smooth process. The headmistresses of at least 2 such schools were interviewed and both were not happy about the arrangement.<sup>4</sup> First,

---

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Headmistress of Makolojwane Primary School, Serowe (30.10.86) and with H/M Meepong (C.J.S.S.) Selibe Phikwe (3.11.86).

they felt that the council had imposed upon them to provide 'x' no. of classrooms etc. without due consultation as would have been expected. They further complained about the disciplinary problems that were created from such situations e.g. student behaviour and the use of facilities. The C.J.S.S. were not cooperative in sharing responsibilities such as keeping the toilets clean. Even though toilets were eventually demarcated for the different groups the C.J.S.S. students were blamed for misusing the facilities. They would steal the toilet paper and cause problems for the primary pupils. They made a lot of noise and did not listen to the primary school teachers. A lot of the primary school classes had to be held under the verandahs because of the lack of space caused by the 'sharing'.

On the other hand the C.J.S.S. were not happy being there. They found the primary school pupils too noisy; the make-shift staff room too cramped. They were patiently waiting for their new premises but were very appreciative of the loan of facilities by the primary schools and the fact that they (primary schools) had to put up with them (the C.J.S.S.).

The C.J.S.S. also shared their facilities with the community. In most cases, school halls were used by communities to stage various functions e.g. beauty contests or concerts for fund raising. Classrooms and school halls were also used by church groups for congregational meetings, political parties also used school premises; sporting clubs especially football teams, used the school grounds for their own local fixtures as well as for inter-village competitions; P.T.A. and B.O.G.'s also held their meetings on school premises.

B.O.G. members felt there was nothing wrong in communities using the school facilities as long as that did not interfere with students' learning. Some of the headmasters on their part were not keen to have their facilities used by the 'outside' groups, because they expressed a concern for the misuse/damage to school property. A few of the headmasters felt that the communities were not really interested in the schools and didn't feel a need to use the facilities or

because the communities had not yet furnished the school with all the required facilities and so were keeping away. Though the general feeling was that the C.J.S.S. were new and the communities hadn't yet got used to the idea of 'partnership', sharing of facilities because secondary schools were always far away from the villages or existed as 'islands'.

What is of interest, is that primary schools are better situated than the C.J.S.S. — most of them are in the village and their facilities tend to be used more than those of the C.J.S.S. for such activities like literacy classes, In-service workshops, political party meetings, P.T.A. meetings, and a range of other activities such as youth club meetings, choir competitions etc.

#### **6.5.2 Providing Community Leadership**

By this the N.C.E. meant where members of various committees and organizations e.g. Village Development Committee (V.D.C.) or the District Development Committee (D.D.C.) would help in the affairs of the school and teachers and students would participate in various village committees and help in the planning and organization of various activities for the community.

Most school managers indicated that the B.O.G. as a community elected body was playing a leadership role in looking after the affairs of the school and making decisions on certain issues on behalf of the community. The extent to which the B.O.G. makes its own decisions on which kind of matters is examined in Chapter Eight. They also mentioned that the ex-officio members of the B.O.G. included leaders of various committees e.g. the District Commissioner or his representative, the Council Secretary, the Education Secretary etc. A few members of the B.O.G. felt that schools were not involved enough in community affairs.

The majority of headmasters on their part (55% of those who had responded to this question) said that the C.J.S.S. were still new and therefore not much was done on their part but that they would be keen to help and as soon as they

were established. However only two gave examples of the kind of help envisaged, namely to participate on village extension teams and various other committees such as the V.D.C. In addition some of the headmasters and teachers were involved on some committees where they were in a position to help with planning and coordinating various activities for the community e.g. Independence Celebrations Committee, Village Development Committee. According to some headmasters, some of their students were involved in leadership roles in e.g. Scouts and other village youth clubs.

### 6.5.3 Social Services

By this the N.C.E. had suggested various ways in which the school could help in the affairs/needs of the community e.g. providing literacy classes for adults/non-school goers, to help the handicapped, (though they do not mention what kind of help).

B.O.G. members felt that communities for their part were helping the schools in many ways e.g. providing finances, accommodation for teachers where no staff houses were built though it was not entirely free; providing accommodation for students from other villages/towns; free labour for various buildings in the school and other projects such as trenches for water pipes; moulding bricks and transporting sand; providing free transport or subsidized transport for various needs etc. The B.O.G. members also mentioned the contributions of the schools to the communities in terms of entertainment e.g. choir singing during various national holidays or when certain dignitaries arrived on special visits; helping in cleaning campaigns e.g. for litter removal.

Most headmasters had mentioned the above points but in addition, a few mentioned other activities that the schools were involved in e.g. providing fresh produce (vegetables) and eggs that were sold to the community. With regards to vegetables being sold to the communities, this was an area which could be further explored. Headmasters of government schools explained how they

could not sell 'goods' to the communities because firstly they were not allowed to do so and secondly the money instead of being regenerated into that project or other ones would instead be put into general government coffers.<sup>5</sup> They felt that the C.J.S.S. could develop good income generating projects that would be beneficial to both the schools and the communities. Though all C.J.S.S. had school gardens very few had taken on large projects and the reasons given were that there was not much time for students and teachers; insufficient funds, lack of water and lack of garden/small scale farming equipment.

One other good example of a social service was provided by Lehutshelo C.J.S.S. The needlework group was sewing dresses and other clothing items of which they had given some to the handicapped persons in their community. They were trying to raise more money to expand this project so that they could sell their products in larger villages and generate more funds.

On the whole, the researcher was given the impression that communities had been providing some good services to the C.J.S.S. especially in the initial phase. But once the schools were running/operational, the community input became less observable. The C.J.S.S. on the other hand had not fully developed their potential in providing various kinds of services to the community. What was becoming apparent in fact was that the C.J.S.S. were moulding their patterns in line with government schools i.e. their aims were to become academic institutions with a less active role in the communities. As one teacher put it succinctly:

There are absolutely no incentives for us to be involved in the community. The curriculum does not allow us time to spend outside the classroom; the Headmistress is not keen on us involving the students in village projects especially during teaching hours; finally, we are not given any rewards for doing extra work.<sup>6</sup>

The teachers role will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven. It is interesting to note again that the primary schools tend to be more involved in

---

<sup>5</sup> Discussion with Headmaster of Madiba Secondary School - Mahalapye (28.10.86).

<sup>6</sup> Interview with teacher at Mmanana C.J.S.S. (Moshupa 22.10.86).



providing various services to the communities as compared to the C.J.S.S. For example, primary school children are often used to help in cleaning campaigns around the village though on this point one B.O.G. chairman did point out that C.J.S.S. had students from several villages and therefore to use them to clean the village might result in parents from other villages complaining about this. In addition however, primary school children are always called up to sing for various village activities or to perform traditional dances. The schools premises themselves tend to be used more by the communities for their needs.

#### 6.5.4 Other ways of strengthening school and community links

There were quite a variety of suggestions made by both B.O.G. chairpersons and the headmasters though the conflict between the two did surface again. For example, Headmasters felt that the B.O.G. Chairpersons (school managers) were not doing much to encourage the communities to take part in school activities. They also said that the managers themselves should be more involved. School managers for their part felt that headmasters should be more accessible to the communities and not just sit in their offices.

However both parties gave useful suggestions on improving the links and relationships between the schools and their communities, namely that schools should have open days/parents days whereby members of the communities could be involved once a term to come and visit the school and look at various projects etc. Secondly, the managers also suggested that the schools should give open seminars on various topics/subjects and invite the community to come and learn/listen/participate. Both groups felt that more community people should be invited into the school to come and share their skills. It was also felt that B.O.G. meetings should be open on certain issues instead of just the annual general meeting (A.G.M.). The schools should also inform the communities more often on their programmes rather than through the A.G.M.'s. Both groups also felt that there should be more decision-making at local

school/community level rather than being given directives from the Ministry of Education, or that there should be more consultation as opposed to prescription.

#### 6.6.0 CONCLUSION

This chapter sets out to discuss the school and community links - to assess whether the C.J.S.S. are playing an important role in the development of their communities. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part examines the significance of the names of the C.J.S.S., their locations and facilities. It is noted that the community schools are named after local environment features, Chiefs, pioneer founders of the respective schools and also after self-help initiatives such as Ipelegeng which literally means "let us build, ourselves". The general feeling of school heads and managers is that local names help in identifying specific communities.

However, the concept of 'community' is not a clear one. In particular, the size of the catchment area that a school serves is important. In this respect, Williams et al (1986) note that if the parents and students come from a number of distant areas, this will make both the definition of the community as well as the relationship with its school a difficult one. This is also found to be the case with the C.J.S.S. in Botswana. In addition however, it is noted that in such situations school leadership can play a vital role. For example in Gumare, which is a remote village in the north west, and which serves a large catchment area, the school is fairly involved in village development projects. But this may be due to the keen interest of the headmaster and some staff members. According to Martin (1984:7), the school may always be the centre of gravity for the community but he notes:

In small schools, particularly in rural areas such economical and extensive sharing may not be easy. The school may be situated in an inconvenient area for communitiy access. Scarce school furniture may not be adaptable to use. The timing of community events in the school may conflict with school needs...

This has also been found to be true with the C.J.S.S. It is noted that most of these schools are located on the outskirts of villages and appear to be misplaced. The attitude of village elders towards schools should be understood in this respect. Secondary schools have always been built far away from villages ever since their inception. The first local school to be built in Botswana, Phutadikobo (see Appendix 16b) was built on top of a hill. The first secondary school, Moeng, was built in a remote valley (c.f. Chapter Three). The first government secondary schools have also been built in regional centres and have thus been distanced from their surrounding communities they were meant to serve.

Parents are keen to help in building schools but are still not sure of other kinds of involvement. This type of attitude needs good leadership and time to help it to be overcome. Furthermore, the teachers and school heads need the right kind of incentives from the ministry to take on board community development projects. Otherwise, school and communities will continue to exist as separate entities.

In the final analysis, the links between the new C.J.S.S. and their communities are very weak. This means that the characteristics of the 'ideal type' community construct are not being reflected in the C.J.S.S. There is very little difference between the way government secondary schools and the C.J.S.S. interact with their communities. However, C.J.S.S. do have more options to start development projects for income generation than government schools but have not yet exploited this potential.

In particular, the schools tend to receive more from the communities than they give back. School facilities are 'out of bounds' for community members. Very few staff members are involved in leadership roles. Teachers are also not involved in community development work but this is hardly their fault. The curriculum is focussed very tightly around teaching and a narrow range of extra curricula activities with no time at all for much else. However, in the next

chapter, a more detailed account of the school curriculum and the role of teachers is provided.

## **CHAPTER SEVEN**

### **THE CHALLENGE OF THE CURRICULUM AND THE ROLE OF TEACHERS FOR THE C.J.S.S.**

#### **7.0.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter focusses on the third and fourth research objectives which are (a) to examine the relevance of the curriculum of the C.J.S.S. There is a need to see if any attempts are being made to close the gap between the primary and secondary school levels. Second, to see if all schools are offering the same subjects and whether differences in subject offerings make some schools more favourable than others. Third, to see if any problems exist in the offering of practical subjects. Fifth the views of the concerned groups namely parents, teachers, students and the government on the new changes being made to the curriculum are closely looked at.

(b) The fourth objective is to examine the role of teachers in the schools as well as in their respective communities. There is also a need to see if there is any compatibility in the teacher training programme and the C.J.S.S. curriculum.

The chapter begins by providing some background information leading to the current reforms in the C.J.S.S.

#### **7.1.0 BACKGROUND TO EDUCATIONAL REFORMS FOR THE C.J.S.S.**

Right from the inception of Western education in Botswana, parents wanted an academic type of education that emphasized the 'three R's'. IT should be pointed out that the first schools built by the great local pioneers such as Motsete and Tshekedi Khama all aimed at an educational programme that included both vocational and practical skills as well as academic subjects. The intentions being clearly to help individuals to be self employed as well as to make the educational programmes relevant to the needs of the community, (see Chapter Three for more details).

However, once the local schools movement had spread and national schools started to appear in most of the tribal territories, the emphasis was put on purely academic subjects.<sup>1</sup> This attitude prevailed into the post Independence era and is still relevant today. It stems from the link that parents had made between formal academic schooling and job opportunities (see Dore, 1976), in most developing countries.

The 1960's and 70's, were years of fairly massive quantitative educational expansion throughout most of the world. More pertinent to developing countries and in particular African countries, a target date had been set to achieve Universal Primary Education by 1981. Botswana was included amongst those countries that had agreed to this goal of U.P.E.<sup>2</sup>

Botswana like most of the other developing countries was caught in the tide of both quantitative and qualitative reforms i.e. to develop a relevant education programme as well as aiming to achieve open access for all school going age children. This was a common phenomenon for most Commonwealth countries (Dove, 1980). National Development Plans were and still are the order of the day with a rhetoric of education as an 'integral tool of development'.

In 1974, the Botswana Democratic Party election manifesto declared that it had set up a National Commission on Education (N.C.E.) to review the whole education system of Botswana. In this manifesto there was an article on 'youth and national development'. The party promised to provide some kind of basic education for those who 'dropped out' of the primary school which for most children even today is the only level of education available. These intentions echoed the Unesco Report (1972) on Basic Education. Prior to this, the first President of Botswana, the late Sir Seretse Khama in his Uppsala address commended the brigades movement which had been started by Van Rensburg in Botswana as early as 1963/64, for its diversified curriculum with emphasis on practical skills related to National Development based on the use of local

---

<sup>1</sup> See for e.g. Thema, B.C., 1947.

<sup>2</sup> N.C.E. Report (1977); Colclough (1980)

resources (Khama, 1970:14). But in a later speech addressed to the Botswana Teachers Union, the President went on to say that when he speaks of self-reliance he does not mean that all schools should be vocational in outlook but:

..In education as well as in other spheres in Botswana there is room for diversity. I do not believe that, any more than there is only one body of political doctrines which can be applied to all situations, there is only one way forward in education but we should gradually and pragmatically move towards a greater degree of self reliance in all our institutions especially in our secondary schools. (Khama, 1980:301).

This was to set the stage for the N.C.E. Report (1977), which has been used as a blue print for education ever since.

#### 7.1.1 The New Nine Year Programme: A Focus on the C.J.S.S. — Policy Implications

The N.C.E. in their assessment of the present curriculum of the junior secondary schools in Botswana, emphasize that becoming educated means:-

acquiring confidence, skills and abilities and the capacity to persuade, organize and act; it means developing an aesthetic and moral sense. (N.C.E., 1977:107).

What exactly do these words mean both in terms of content and instructional objectives for teaching? The N.C.E. go on to say that teachers will be required to think in terms of the experiences, skills and attitudes they want to impart and not just the knowledge to be gained. Thus, they emphasize that in curriculum development i.e. in both the change and design aspects, the teaching approach is important. In this connection, they would like to see schools develop and make use of their libraries. The question is do all schools have libraries? In Chapter Six, we have shown how most schools are still awaiting libraries, books and staff to run them. It has to be seen whether teachers will really use them efficiently and whether the curriculum itself allows for such activities. Most teachers are used to 'spoon-feeding' techniques in teaching using the chalk-board for writing notes. There is also the problem of attitude change for

teachers when they have these 'die-hard' habits. The role of teachers in the new curriculum for the C.J.S.S. is examined further on.

With regards to the actual content, the N.C.E. believes that the task of the secondary school curriculum is to provide a 'wide basis for life, further training and work'. This implies a combination of different subject disciplines. They recommend that there should be a common curriculum at both the junior and senior secondary levels consisting of Tswana Culture, English, Mathematics, Science, Social Studies and practical subjects ... and they emphasize continuity between these two levels. But can there be a truly common curriculum when there are two different examining boards? The Junior Certificate Exam Board is a regional one which may soon be localized whilst the senior secondary examinations are administered overseas by the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Board or also referred to as the General Certificate in Education Board. To a large extent, the examinations will determine the contents of the curriculum i.e. what is taught, (Somerset, 1985). The N.C.E. also recommend that there should be continuity between the primary and junior secondary levels. Since the Primary School Leaving Exam and the Junior Certificate Exam are both administered locally, the chances are greater in bridging the gap between these two levels, allowing for a smooth continuity in the nine years basic education programme.

The N.C.E. further recommend that all students should at least take one practical subject throughout their course. The range of practical subjects was to include: Home Economics, Technical Studies, which is a combination of woodwork, metalwork and technical drawing; Agriculture and Commerce.

The N.C.E. recommend that each academic subject should be given a practical orientation and that at least two or three hours should be allowed each week, for practical work. They go on to say that practical courses should 'develop the basic understanding required to use common tools effectively and safely.' They do not mention what tools they are referring to.



The National Development Plan (N.D.P. 1986:123) states that:-

There is a need to make the contents of basic education more practical to enable the school leaver to adapt more easily to productive employment or self employment.

Here again, we see the use of fine rhetoric. What exactly is meant by making education more practical? It has general meanings for instance using the Dewey approach of 'learning by doing'. This is a problem facing curriculum developers and planners all over the world i.e. to strike the right balance between academic and practical subjects and deciding which skills should be taught in practical subjects.

#### 7.1.2 The Cammaerts Report: Plan for the Take Off on the New Nine Year Programme.

In view of the above recommendations and the change in school structure for the provision of nine years of schooling for all, there was a need for government to get more specific advice on the curricula both for the schools and for teacher training. The Cammaerts Report (1981) suggested an overall change in the school curriculum. For example, the normal timetable in a secondary school is made up of about eight periods a day and beginning between 7.30 and 8.00 a.m. every morning and finishing at between 1.00 p.m. and 1.30 p.m. Each period lasts for forty minutes (see Appendix 18). Cammaerts (1981:14-15) suggested that the school day should be centred around a particular theme e.g. 'Getting to know each other'. Subjects would then be broken down into topics to suit that theme. He suggests a departure from the norm of strict timetables and bells ringing to signify the end of a lesson. In a sense, the proposal is a bit more like the open school (see Appendix 19). Where students do not follow a rigid timetable and begin with whichever subject they like.

The Ministry of Education via its Curriculum Development Unit took on the task of designing the new curriculum. Some guidelines were taken from the

Cammaerts report especially for the teacher training aspect. The idea of the open school curriculum was 'shelved' because it assumes a properly organized autonomous school system. It also assumes good teachers, plenty of resources ideas, and a good link between the school and community. Unfortunately the 'open-school' is not suitable for present conditions in Botswana due to a shortage of specialist teachers, trained subject teachers and also because of a shortage of classrooms.

#### **7.2.0 THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW CURRICULUM: FOCUS ON KEY CONTRIBUTORS**

The Curriculum Development Unit (C.D.U.) has been set up as a department whose main function is really to plan, develop and evaluate the curriculum for the schools. It was established on the recommendation of the N.C.E. who felt that this department/unit was a necessity both to facilitate and coordinate various work and should link up with the testing centre and the teaching aids production unit. The schools broadcasting unit was also brought under the ambit of the newly formed department. The idea was to create better coordination between these units whose work should be closely related. However these units are still 'housed' separately though in the near future it is intended to bring them all into one location. The C.D.U. together with the Secondary Education Subject Panels section are still working on the new nine year curriculum.

The subject panels are under education officers who are responsible for each discipline. So for example the education officer (E.O.) for English is head of the English Subject Panel. The E.O. (English) is responsible for setting up a special panel to develop the curriculum; write up exam questions; draw up the syllabus; develop teachers guides; and where necessary organize materials for teachers of the subject and to coopt subject specialist teachers to help in the task. The education officer has to visit schools, and act as an inspector for

his/her subject. The E.O. is also responsible to the Senior Education Officer who is the head of the entire section e.g. Primary or Secondary. For the purposes of the nine year curriculum, a special committee called the Curriculum Steering Committee has been set up that coopts members from both sections in various units and departments as well as from other affiliated institutions and related organizations e.g. the Faculty of Education at the University. This special committee has two main tasks viz (i) to ensure that the new curriculum is relevant and (ii) to carry out a needs assessment to help in the formulation of aims and goals for the new programme.

With regards to the new curriculum of the C.J.S.S. there is a need to examine the curriculum reforms in general. There is a further need to see what is particularly intended by the proponents of the programme. The specific role of the key participants should also be carefully looked at in relation to the changes mentioned above.

#### 7.2.1 The Role of Teachers in the New Curriculum

What role do the teachers in the C.J.S.S. play? Questionnaires were sent to all teachers. Observations and interviews were also carried out. This was supplemented by general informal discussions.

The first question posed to teachers in the C.J.S.S. was whether they were aware of the introduction of the new curriculum and if they were already implementing it in their schools (See Appendix 11, Question No. 12. Teachers' Questionnaire). A total number of 185 out of the 207 responses i.e. 90% of the teachers responded in the affirmative. However in 1986, the new curriculum was only affecting the Form One's i.e. the first year students in the two year Interim Programme of the C.J.S.S. This meant that only those teachers who were teaching the Form One were directly involved.

In Table 9.1 below, some of the roles that teachers were involved in are looked at.

**TABLE 7.1: ROLE PLAYED BY TEACHERS IN THE CURRICULUM PROCESS**

ROLE PLAYED	NO's	%
PLANNING PROCESS	19	9
REVIEWING DRAFT PROPOSALS	34	16
IMPLEMENTATION	50	24
NOT CONSULTED	98	47
OTHER	6	3
TOTAL	207	100%

The role played by those involved in the implementation process was to attend workshops and provide some feedback on the syllabi of their teaching subjects. Fifty teachers were involved in this role. However, in this group only 12% were actually involved in writing exam questions and drawing up the syllabi. Some of the teachers were fresh from university where they did their pre-service training and it was during their training that they reviewed draft syllabi. Most teachers mentioned that the workshops they had attended were specifically set up to discuss the new syllabi of their respective teaching subjects.

Even though the teachers complained about not being fully involved in the curriculum development process we can see from the above figures that, in relative terms, a significant number have been involved. This may only be possible in a small national system. The secondary education system is centralized and this makes it easier to involve many schools and teachers in various activities.

Some teachers said that workshops were one way of enabling them to give vent to pent up emotions. As one teacher said:

Our views are not considered at all. We are only expected to receive and deliver the goods. We are never consulted in the decision-making itself.

For example, why are they changing the syllabus? What about our views on this issue?<sup>3</sup>

Teachers involvement in the curriculum process varied from subject to subject. The view of several E.O.'s was that it would be too time consuming to invite all teachers and ask them to draw up a new syllabus. The procedure was that a few teachers would be chosen by the panels. These were usually nominated by the E.O.'s themselves; chosen because of their contributions in various workshops; or nominated by the Heads of the C.J.S.S. Clearly this shows that there is a possibility that some of the best teachers may be left out of the process as the above methods of choosing are quite subjective.

The panels together with their co-opted members, would then draw up draft syllabi, examination questions and various kinds of materials which would then be distributed in the schools. Teachers would be requested to send in comments or raise various pertinent issues in workshops that are specially organized during school vacations. For Science and Maths, teachers were more involved as they had to try out worksheets or 'Zimkits' that had been adapted to the Botswana context. Teachers were less involved in English, Agriculture and Social Studies. The latter proved to be the most problematic as it was a new subject, a merger of Geography and History.

Teachers were asked to explain how they would have contributed in the curriculum development process if given the chance to do so. (Question No. 15.).

---

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Social Studies Teacher, Ipelegeng C.J.S.S., Lobatse (14.10.86).

**TABLE 7.2: TEACHERS VIEWS ON HOW THEY WOULD CONTRIBUTE IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT IF GIVEN THE CHANCE**

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	NO.	%
ORGANIZATION OF TOPICS/CONTENT	37	18
DESIGNING MATERIALS/METHODS	13	6
DRAFTING EXAM QUESTIONS	15	7
OTHER	23	11
NOT APPLICABLE	23	11
BLANK/NOT SURE	96	46
TOTALS	207	100%

**Note:** not applicable - refers to those teacher who were not involved with the new curriculum.

From the interviews, it appears that in general teachers were not happy about how the curriculum development process was organized, mainly because they had not been properly consulted. But when asked how they would contribute, they were rather uncertain as shown in the large number of blank responses in Table 7.2. As mentioned earlier, some teachers had not yet been directly involved because they were not teaching the Form One's. However as we can see from the above table, most teachers were willing to help in various ways such as re-organizing topics or aspects of content material. Why are so many teachers (46%) not sure about how they can contribute in the curriculum development process? Is it because of the lack of training or is it due to lack of time?

There is a limit to how much a teacher can do in addition to his 'core' teaching task as Lauglo (1982), Bude (1982) and Dove (1982a) argue. Most teachers tend to have enough on their hands with a full days work of teaching, marking schedules, preparation for the next days work and also being involved in extra-curricular activities such as sports, entertainment etc.

Table 7.3 below shows some of these activities that teachers in the C.J.S.S. are involved in.

**TABLE 7.3: ACTIVITIES THAT TEACHERS ARE INVOLVED IN APART FROM TEACHING**

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	NO. OF TEACHERS	% OF TOTAL TEACHERS
SOCIAL CLUBS/SPORTS/ENTERTAINMENT	134	65
SCHOOL WELFARE & DEVELOPMENT	97	47
ADMINISTRATIVE TASKS	25	12
COUNSELLING & SUPERVISION	32	16
OTHER	20	10
BLANK	5	2
TOTAL RESPONSES	313	
TOTAL NO. OF TEACHERS	207	100

Most teachers are involved in coaching various sporting events such as football, tennis, softball, volleyball, netball, track events/athletics. Entertainment includes music, choir singing, dance clubs. Social clubs include youth clubs, boy scouts and girl guides, wildlife clubs, and photography clubs. The next section below looks at teachers' involvement in community development work.

### 7.2.2 The Role of Teachers in Community Development

As noted in Chapter Two, it has been argued that teachers are sometimes caught up in role conflicts between serving the government, the school or the community. This may be one reason why teachers do not want to be involved in curriculum development activities or in community development work (Watson, 1981). It can also be argued that teachers are not attracted to rural areas and may be frustrated and thus not interested in their work.

The concept of 'rural' area' can be vague and misleading, as noted in Chapter Two. Examples of rural towns are the district capitals for instance Mochudi in the Kgatleng and Molepolole in the Kweneng District. It appears that in the Botswana case, most teachers preferred to teach in their home area

which was in the rural areas. As many as 94 said so compared to 65 who wanted to be away from their own home villages or towns but did not mind working in other rural areas. The main reason given by teachers for preferring to be in rural areas was cheap accommodation. Housing in the C.J.S.S. is lacking and of a poorer standard as compared to government schools which have well furnished houses. Most of these latter schools have the teacher houses inside school compounds making it very convenient for teachers and saving them on e.g. transport charges. Generally accommodation is cheaper in rural areas as compared to towns.

In table 7.3 we note that 47% of the teachers are involved in 'school welfare and development'. This includes a lot of the community oriented work such as being on the parents day committee or being a member of the parents teachers association; fund raising committees which involves teachers going out to the community and raising funds for various school projects. Apart from this the teachers were involved in administrative tasks which involved being head of department; doing secretarial work e.g. correspondence and being member of various school committees. Counselling and supervision includes offering tutorials; acting as guidance and counselling officers which again in a few instances involved some service to community members, but mainly took the role of being a 'careers master'; and supervising cleaning activities. It is quite evident that most of the activities are focussed in school rather than on the community albeit not in teaching per se. The question is with so much on their hands, would teachers have time for community development activities? The general feeling was that there was no time though in principle they did not mind doing it. Besides, some teachers lived far from the schools, often fairly dispersed around the village/town. So when they 'knocked off' work, they just wanted to go home and attend to their private affairs.



Watson (1981:2) contends that:

The role of the teacher as an instrument of rural community transformation is exaggerated and that the community school as an instrument of rural community transformation is unlikely to be successful unless there is a true community participation in the running of the school and in the establishment of its goals and priorities.

To a certain extent the role of the community school is examined in Chapter Five which looks at how the different people view the school. Though there is some potential for stronger links between the school and the community and vice versa it has been shown how the C.J.S.S. are increasingly being regarded as conventional secondary schools. It is also shown how government interest and involvement is one cause for the diminution of community support. In Chapter Eight the decision-making processes in the C.J.S.S. will be examined.

Teachers for their part are shown to be involved in various school related activities and thus appear not likely to be involved in community development work. However we still need to examine how they are trained. Does their teacher training prepare them for community work? The teacher training aspect is looked at further on but first the role of the community in the curriculum development process is looked at. Should the community be involved in this process at all? What contribution can the community make in the curriculum process? Do the communities want to be involved? These are some of the questions that are examined below.

### **7.2.3 The Role of the Community in the Curriculum Development**

The extent to which members of the community participate in the curriculum development process and the decision making process in general is rather limited. According to Dove (1980b:11) there is in most countries, lack of information as to the ways in which members of the community actually participate in schools.

With regards to the C.J.S.S., a few bodies such as the Parents Teachers Association and Board of Governors, represent the communities in some of the

decision-making. But such bodies usually act as a 'rubber-stamp' on decisions taken by the government. Why are local bodies not involved when the schools are meant to serve the same? Dove (1980) suggests three possible reasons for their low key involvement. First, in curriculum matters, 'lay-participation' is not advocated by the professionals or the experts. It is often argued by those that hold this view that the average community member may not have the level of education and therefore the expertise to be involved in technical matters. Second, Dove notes that it may be that community members themselves prefer to stand aside. Third, it may be that the national level personnel lack detailed knowledge of community involvement and therefore under estimate it or under play its contribution. The important point about the community input is that they all (no matter how 'illiterate' or 'lacking' in expertise) have pretty clear ideas about why they want their children to go to school and hence, by implication, what they expect them to learn in principle.

In several C.J.S.S. situations all three reasons could apply. In most instances however, the first reason seemed to be the most suitable to describe the situation in Botswana. Community members felt that some curriculum matters were too technical for them. School managers said openly that there were certain matters that the majority of parents would simply not be able to handle because they did not have the level of education to understand these issues.

However this should not be taken to mean that there is no way in which the communities can contribute in the curriculum development process in the C.J.S.S. Most teachers indicated that they could use the knowledge and skills of the community members to help in their teaching. For example, community elders could come and talk on cultural matters; demonstrate various skills ranging from playing traditional musical instruments; describe how certain foods could be prepared, and present their views on farming methods.

The responses of chairpersons of the school Boards of Governors on the other hand showed that sixteen out of twenty-three were happy about the present curriculum in the C.J.S.S. A few said that it had the right balance of practical subjects like Agriculture and Technical Studies. Ten of them felt that there should have been more practical skills so as to help the students find jobs more easily once they leave school. One manager compared the C.J.S.S. to the brigades and said that the latter offered too "physically demanding training for young children." One said "In our days we did spelling, mental arithmetic, classical books with more grammar. Today the Junior Certificate students can't speak properly or even add correctly. We only did Std VI in our days but that was good education." This just goes to show how some of the older people still view education for 'white collar jobs'.

#### **7.2.4 The Role of Headmasters/Headmistresses**

Almost all the headmasters interviewed said that they were already implementing the new curriculum. Twenty-one out of twenty-four indicated the same via the questionnaires. The precise role played by the school heads is looked at in the table below:-

**TABLE 7.4: ROLE OF HEADMASTERS/HEADMISTRESSES IN CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT**

ROLE PLAYED	NO.
PLANNING	3
REVIEWING DRAFT PROPOSALS	11
IMPLEMENTATION	11
EVALUATION	4
NOT CONSULTED	3
TOTAL	32

A few headmasters were involved in more than one role. But generally most of them were involved in reviewing draft proposals or in implementing the new curriculum. However in their capacity as subject teachers, most of the headmasters noted that they had attended workshops as subject specialists/teachers but had no specific role to play as headmasters. Unfortunately no reason is given for this. A few noted that they had been informed of the new curriculum at the Headmasters' Conference which is periodically held to discuss various administrative and other school related matters with the Chief Education Officer or some other officials. Almost all the headmasters noted similar problems in the teaching of practical subjects viz the lack of storage space to keep tools; lack of equipment/tools, garden was too small; there wasn't enough water; some schools had no fence; lack of space for teaching subjects and that there was a lack of trained teachers in practical subjects. They were afraid that the communities could not afford to pay for the equipment or materials.

#### **7.3.0 CHANGES IN THE CURRICULUM: THE TEACHERS' VIEWS**

A major problem cited by almost all the teachers across all subjects was that the curriculum for the junior certificate which was normally three years had not been reduced to suit the two year interim-period. As mentioned, this phase may even last up to ten years. So, the problem is an overload of three years work being squeezed into two years causing some difficulty for both the students and teachers.

The new curriculum is supposed to be more student-centred and to be more community-centred. But due to congestion of work, the teachers have to rush the syllabus and cut out many activities that would reduce the teaching contact time. The student-centred activities tend to take up a lot of time and are therefore left out. The curriculum change has led to much confusion in the C.J.S.S.

Social Studies was mentioned earlier, as a combination of Geography and History. Only a handful of teachers had done both disciplines in their teacher training or undergraduate degrees. Most had done Geography or History either as a single major or together with another subject like English or Setswana. Combining the disciplines meant a wider coverage and less depth especially in the interim period. Topics had been arranged around themes e.g. 'The Cattlepost'. This would include some History on settlements and then some Geography covering e.g. 'Cattle Ranching'. These two concepts would again be brought up at a later stage if a new topic required their presentation otherwise met. This also meant that if some concepts were common to several topics, there would be a chance for repetition or even confusion.

But the education officer for Social Studies felt that the teachers would soon get used to this new subject. The ministry via subject panels emphasized the 'end' as a desirable goal i.e. in the long run the problems would be solved; whilst the teachers were worried about the 'means' for that end. In particular, teachers were worried about the on-coming end of year exam. Would team teaching have solved the problem, especially for those teachers who lack training in one of the two combined disciplines? The school time table was not favourable for the method; and teachers were afraid to change the sequence of topics because of the short period before the exams. Another main worry for this subject was that it was facing its first J.C. exam. No-one knew what the format of questions would be like.... a burning issue for many teachers and school heads.

In English Literature, the two-year period had not caused the English panel to reduce the number of set-books. These had still remained the same as in the three year system. As a result, teachers felt there was less time for the same work and this made them feel bitter. The subject panelists were saying that more workshops would be organized to help teachers. They were also trying to write up more teachers' guides for all subjects in general.

Science teachers found their subject to be more relevant and more focussing on community based topics. Their problem was that the time constraint did not allow for student-centred activities. They also complained about the lack of cooperation from other teachers who were not willing to give up their periods to enable field studies or projects that required more time than the normal 40 minutes duration of a period. But then the other teachers were also desperately chasing time!

Other problems include the gap between primary and secondary levels. Subjects like Agriculture which were taken as integrated study in the primary level were offered as a separate subject in Form One where it was assumed that a lot of the basic concepts had already been done at the Primary level. The Education Officer for Agriculture said that the problem would soon be solved as a new syllabus for nine years was almost ready and that would allow for a better transition from the one level into the next.

On the other hand a number of teachers were worried about the gap between the junior secondary and senior secondary. The Social Studies teachers were wondering whether the students would have enough background on both Geography and History to be able to cope with these as separate subjects in the C.O.S.C. exam. They were being taught as separate subjects at the senior secondary level.

Did teachers feel adequately prepared to handle the changes in the new curriculum? This question is partly answered in the table overleaf.

**TABLE 7.5: TEACHERS VIEWS ON THEIR TRAINING AND WHETHER IT PREPARED THEM TO COPE WITH CURRICULUM CHANGES**

RESPONSE	NO.	%
YES	69	33
NO	60	29
N/A	54	26
BLANK	24	12
TOTAL	207	100%

**Note:** N/A = not applicable refers to those teachers not involved in the new curriculum.

Table 7.5 shows that 33% of the teachers felt that their teacher training had been relevant in terms of preparing them to cope with changes in the job. A few of them actually said that the curriculum changes were simple and straight forward so as not to cause any concern. The Maths teachers found the worksheets even better to handle. The majority of teachers who did not find their training relevant were the Social Studies teachers whose main complaint was that they had not trained as Social Studies teachers. Their problem was not so much a psychological as a practical one. Whilst doing their teacher training courses they had collected text books, reading materials, teaching aids and various other useful material to help them in their teaching. Now, they had a new subject. It was the part that they had not prepared for that bothered them. What made matters worse was that most C.J.S.S. still did not have libraries and even if they did, there were not enough resource books.

In addition, many small changes showing varied problems were mentioned e.g. not enough tools to teach practical subjects; materials not relevant; textbook shortage; and a general lack of teaching aids.

In general we can conclude that the introduction of the new nine year programme has caused some confusion and anxiety. Is it enough to say that

these are teething problems and will soon fade away once the programme takes off. Only time will tell.... but unfortunately a significant number of students will suffer the consequences.

#### **7.4.0 THE TEACHER TRAINING PROGRAMME FOR C.J.S.S. — FOCUS ON THE MOLEPOLOLE COLLEGE OF EDUCATION**

The idea of having a separate teacher training college for the C.J.S.S. teachers was initiated by the N.C.E. Report (1977) as noted in Chapter Two. The Molepolole College of Education (M.C.E.) offers a 3 year teachers diploma. Cammaerts (1981) initially based his ideas on the National Commission and drew up a curriculum that would train teachers for small 2 or 3 stream schools. The teachers would be similar to the middle or intermediate school teachers in England i.e. they would be trained to teach several subjects instead of the one or two major subject tradition of the old university diploma (D.S.E.) programme (c.f. Chapter Two).

The second change was the way the curriculum itself would be organized. It would have three parts:- First there is the theory of courses such as Psychology, Philosophy, History and some Comparative Education. Second, the Professional Studies component which includes curriculum courses and teaching methods. Third, the student's subject area. The programme is not very different from most basic teacher training courses except that this was to have a different approach.

The Education courses would not be offered as Psychology or Philosophy but were to be clustered around themes. This is related to the suggestions Cammaerts made for the C.J.S.S. curriculum. Even the Professional Studies were to be focussed around themes and Psychology would be fused with methodology. However, once the programme started, the focus on producing teachers who could teach several subjects, as many as four or five, was changed in the second year to allow students to take fewer subjects because as



it turned out, most C.J.S.S. had more than two streams. Hence, a need for more teachers. The first graduates were due to complete at the end of 1987. Many changes had to be made during the course of the training programme in terms of content offerings and numbers of subjects to specialize in. The college also aimed at introducing new subjects such as Music, Art and Technical Studies. These were in line with the newly proposed broader curriculum for the C.J.S.S.

The College faced several problems. First, it was bringing in change while developing its programme with new students. So that at the end of the third year, the two groups of fresh intakes were doing different things from the first group. Second, the new departments of Music and Art were under-staffed. There was only one staff member in the Music Department. Third the College did not yet have most of its facilities. This problem ranged from departments not having needed resources; to the kitchen not yet being fully staffed and furnished; the water supply was being worked on; staff houses were still being built.

The Technical Studies department still lacked some of the tools and machines to be used by students. The lecturer and head of department, this being another one-man department, was quite concerned about the first graduates who were about to go and teach in the C.J.S.S. but without having been exposed to many necessary experiences. He was also worried that some of the C.J.S.S. were not yet furnished with special rooms and equipment for the teaching of this new subject.

A common problem in most departments was that they were still developing their own course offerings. As one lecturer said "we are in a quandary to change our own courses, teach teachers and help change/develop the curriculum of the schools"<sup>4</sup>.

Another problem facing the lecturers was that the students being enrolled were of a mixed ability and some with prior experience — some with O-levels, a

---

<sup>4</sup> Lecturer - Department of Social Studies, M.C.E. (9.2.87).

few ex-primary school teachers, a few form V students who had been doing odd-jobs and a few who had just completed their National Service. The pace of teaching was affected by this variety of backgrounds. There was also more emphasis on methodology rather than on content. This appeared to be one of the major differences from the old diploma programme that used to be offered at the university.

The general picture of the graduate was one who should be able to teach two or three subjects but with a poor content background in them.

The Molepolole College was still sorting out its own internal problems and trying to establish itself. As a result there was not much thought going into the wider role of the teacher in the community. With regards to the C.J.S.S. curriculum, a number of college lecturers were involved in the development and evaluation of the programme. In addition, the College had support staff from a special Junior Secondary Education Improvement Project (JSEIP) unit. That had been set up to help improve various aspects of the C.J.S.S. programme.

#### **7.5.0 THE JUNIOR SECONDARY EDUCATION PROJECT (J.S.E.I.P.)**

J.S.E.I.P. was set up through an agreement between Ohio State University, U.S. Aid, and the Ministry of Education, Botswana. Almost a decade ago, Ohio State University had set up a special primary education Improvement Project (PEIP) whose major role was to help in the improvement of primary education in Botswana. Similarly J.S.E.I.P. has been set up to help improve the nine year basic education programme with emphasis on the junior secondary education level.

J.S.E.I.P. has experts in: Curriculum Development and Evaluation, or better known as the programme and materials evaluation specialist, instructional media specialist, staff development specialist, teacher education specialist, technical education specialist, inservice school management and administration specialist and finally a planning and systems management specialist.

This team of experts have now been placed in all strategic positions in various institutions and departments in the Ministry of Education and the College of Education. The Junior Secondary Project has already mounted a few studies e.g. a needs assessment survey looking into the needs of C.J.S.S.; a study looking into the feasibility of local resource management of the C.J.S.S.

Unfortunately their studies have not been completed so it is difficult to assess their contributions. However a few points can be made on the P.E.I.P. which may help us to understand the role of J.S.E.I.P.

The P.E.I.P. is based at the University of Botswana and has mounted two programmes viz a Diploma in Primary Education and a Bachelor's degree in Primary Education. The purpose of these programmes is to provide skilled and qualified personnel to help improve the quality of primary education in Botswana. The diploma programme is for Primary School Inspectors and the degree programme is for Primary Teachers Training College Lecturers. Up till now Primary School Inspectors and lecturers have mainly been taken from the secondary education system. One can therefore see the need for and value of these programmes. Furthermore students who apply into these programmes are expected to be trained primary school teachers with several years experience.

However some problems have arisen from P.E.I.P. programmes at the University namely the compatibility of the American style of training, methods used, marking schedules compared to the rest of the university programmes that follow a British system. The issue of double standards has often been raised at various Faculty and Senate Board meetings.

Another identifiable problem about P.E.I.P. is that the team from the University has been visiting primary schools throughout the country and holding a series of workshops providing in-service training to teachers in the field. The team has a lot of resources such as charts, overhead projectors etc which are

used in the workshops. However when the teachers go back to the schools, they lack the resources used in their demonstrations.

Although this may not be the fault of P.E.I.P. it could also be argued that they are to blame to some extent, for they ought to be providing appropriate technology. They are also trying to provide various resources to schools to back up the workshops but its a long battle to achieve that goal.

Similarly J.S.E.I.P. has attempted to mount several kinds of courses for C.J.S.S. personnel. Some if not most of the concepts are foreign and this is providing a major difficulty to the Botswana situation that has been modelled on the British system of Education.

#### 7.6.0 QUANTITY VS. QUALITY

In her assessment of the achievement of U.P.E. in Botswana, Allison (1983) notes that the government has put a lot of emphasis on qualitative aspects namely supply factors such as building of schools and provision of teachers with little or no consideration for demand factors.

Her studies on the Kweneng reveal the importance of demand factor such as explaining why so many children in rural areas still do not go to schools or why there are more girls than boys at primary level.

There are some similarities to the present study. First, a lot of emphasis has been placed on the expansion side. The government has been pushing the communities in building schools. As noted earlier, most schools lack staff houses. This is only one effect of the qualitative expansion. Second, the relevance of the curriculum and teacher training aspects have not been fully developed. Third, heads of C.J.S.S. have not been trained for their new roles - since C.J.S.S. demand a little more than administrative skills (cf. Chapter Eight). Fourth, school managers lack management skills. J.S.E.I.P. has identified all these areas and intends to improve the situation. Unless this is speeded up,

more problems will soon emerge and the quality of education will also be affected.

However the new C.J.S.S. have improved qualitatively on the 'performance by examination results' aspect and hence have helped overcome the inequality that existed between schools, especially the Government and Government Aided Schools vs. the Private Self-Help Schools (see Table 3.3).

Kahn (1988:2-3) compares the Junior Certificate results of Government and Government Aided Schools with the C.J.S.S. in 1986 and 1988 and notes that a considerable amount of equity has been achieved.

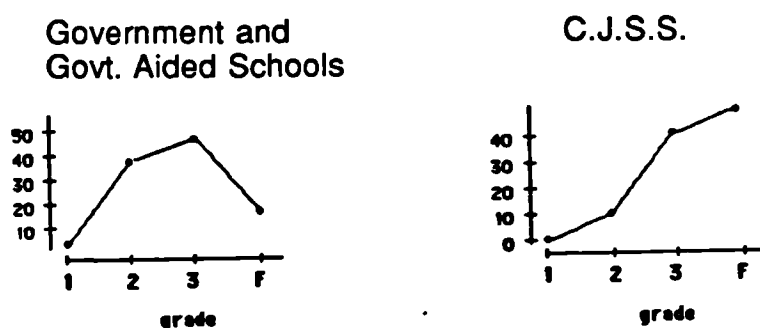


Figure 6: Percentage of Pupils by JC Grade, 1986

Source: Ministry of Education, 1987. Note: grade 1 >75; grade 2 >60; grade 3 >40; F fail.

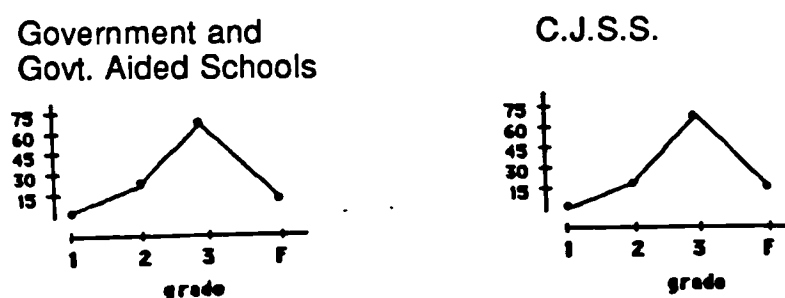


Figure 7: Percentage of Pupils by JC Grade, 1988

Source: Ministry of Education, 1988.

In 1986 (refer to Figure 6) the C.J.S.S. were just about starting the new programme. The entrance requirement of students was of a lower quality to

those in the government of government aided schools. This accounts for the poor results in 1986 (see also Table 3.3).

However by 1988, the new regulations of the C.J.S.S. were being implemented and only students with good grades in the Primary School Leaving Exam were being admitted into the C.J.S.S. The results are clear from the above table (Figure 7). However, as noted in earlier chapters the government and aided schools are now senior secondary schools and hence do not offer a junior certificate programme.

#### 7.7.0 CONCLUSION

The introduction of Western education left a stigma on links between education and practical work in many African countries including Botswana. Education was expected to increase not only job opportunities but also to raise the overall levels of social and economic development. This had a major effect on early education policies in these countries, as they strove in their qualitative expansion programmes towards the goal of Universal Primary Education. In particular, the curricula were not relevant to their needs. But soon after independence, the search for a relevant curriculum became a political concern for most governments, as the numbers of unemployed school leavers increased and low economic growth rates were experienced.

According to the National Development Plan (NDP 6, 1986:123) there are two main objectives of the nine year programme. First, to prepare those students who will continue with their formal education by providing a sound academic base. Second, the curriculum has to be more relevant and practical to provide basic skills to those who will not be able to continue with their formal education. To what extent has the curriculum reflected the balance between practical and academic subjects in trying to achieve these objectives?

With regards to the academic aspect, we need to examine the contents of what is being taught. How relevant is it? What is the scope both in terms of

amount and in terms of the time limit? One of the main problems identified in this chapter is that the length of the C.J.S.S. programme i.e. at the junior secondary level, has been reduced from three years to two. The amount of materials to be covered however has not been reduced. Furthermore the teachers are not able to carry out field trips or projects as these are time consuming. This is rather ironical because the new curriculum does call for such activities. According to Tshireletso and Kann (1987:64) time constraints on the curriculum and in particular on various practical activities is rather unfortunate as it is '... the application of knowledge learnt that is so important to those who leave school after the junior certificate.'

Some attempt has been made in trying to make the curriculum more relevant. Social studies, a newly introduced subject in the C.J.S.S., that seeks to combine History and Geography, attempts to relate political, economic and social issues to the local environment. Considerable effort has been put into linking primary and junior secondary levels so as to have a continuous nine year programme e.g. the joint efforts of the primary and secondary subject panels.

On the other hand, making education more practical could mean relating it more to 'practice' or application after school — either by adding new subject matter which purports to be more relevant in this respect, and/or by teaching any subject with a view to its out of school application. However there is yet another aspect of 'relevance' which is based on the teaching approach and has been alluded to above, in discussing the problem of time constraints and its effect on teachers. Besides, teachers are only worried about exams which in turn only demand recall of facts. Furthermore, teachers have not been trained to use 'practical' approaches.

Two new subjects namely Technical Studies which is a combination of Woodwork, Metalwork and Technical Drawing, and Agriculture have been introduced as compulsory subjects. It is intended by the government that the

school leavers should 'adapt more easily to productive employment or self employment', (N.D.P. 6, 1986:123). But as we have shown, there is a wide gap between what is taught in the classrooms and the real world outside.

Unemployment is not solely an education problem *per se* but basically is an economic, political and a social one (Bude, 1985). The mere inclusion of practical subjects in a curriculum will not by themselves solve the unemployment problem albeit it is an attempt in the right direction. Only time will tell whether the Ministry of Education has undertaken an impossible task or not, a contention shared by Tshireletso and Kann (1987:65).

Dove (1980b) contends that teachers' involvement in the curriculum development process is important but rightfully notes that few teachers are involved in the curriculum evaluation process. At present, this situation prevails even in Botswana. Although teachers are seen to be involved in school welfare and development activities such as coaching and entertainment, they are not involved in community development work *per se*. Community oriented work in support of the school is not really what the debate about teachers as community development agents is about. The issue in the debate is rather involvement in various community development activities such as Agricultural projects, Health care, and organizing various self help/self reliance schemes and this unfortunately is found to be almost non-existent in the C.J.S.S.

On the wider scale, the present changes being introduced are based not only on the curriculum but also on some structured and teacher training reforms. As Dove (1980) and Bude (1982) note, unless the changes are seen as serving the interests of the majority, for whom they are intended, and unless there is a mutuality of interests among the concerned parties, the schemes are unlikely to work.

Miles (1964) wrote that there was no adequate theory for educational change. This presented a field for investigation and inquiry. Theory provides a



framework for innovative action. It also tries to explain diffusion i.e. how new ideas are spread from point to point.

Havelock offers a three model classification for analysis of change in an organization. His Research, Development and Diffusion (R, D and D) model depicts the process of change as an orderly sequence which begins with the identification of a problem; proceeds through activities which are directed towards finding a solution to this problem and ends with this being diffused to the target group.

This model is the closest in explaining how the changes are brought into the education system in Botswana. The initiative is taken by the M.O.E. who also play the role of the developer and disseminator for the 'packaged solutions'. The teachers on the other hand are supposed to be the 'passive' receivers. This is not entirely so as we have shown that teachers are involved in the implementing process albeit the low key involvement. Power-coercive strategies (Chin and Benne 1970:23) ensure that there is compliance.

However these theories are sufficient in-so-far as they look at the process of implementation within the organization itself. There is the tendency to overlook external factors at play. The communities at large have an important role in deciding whether they want to support the government changes being brought about. They may, for example if they are not happy with the changes, refuse to send their children to schools. Thus it is important even in a centrally controlled system to ensure that external factors have been considered and properly consulted. The aims and goals of a project can be one of the major influencing factors on the part of the external forces. We have shown how the communities in Botswana do not have control over technical matters such as curriculum development and implementation. The Ministry instead prefers to retain control of such matters. They still have their own expectation of the programme which should not be overlooked.

According to the World Bank Education Sector Policy Paper (1980), the desire to improve education qualitatively has increased in most countries but serious problems remain in implementing innovations. In most cases, as the World Bank studies show, this was mainly due to a lack of understanding of the nature of educational change and its relationship with the socio-economic environment.

Hurst (1983:4) notes that innovative projects such as introduction of new curricula, new techniques of instruction, new administrative procedures and reforms of the structures of educational systems have generally shown poor results. Hurst further notes that not much is known about educational innovations in developing countries albeit there has been a body of literature in some fields such as agriculture and health. However Hurst (ibid. p.5) contends that:

Care needs to be exercised in transferring such lessons to the institutional settings of education. Equally, caution is required before too readily concluding that the latest trends in implementation strategies in the West are necessarily what developing countries ought to emulate.

He goes on to give two examples of 'Western' trends. Firstly, there is a trend to emphasize the initiation of innovations at the user level. Inadequate understanding of the problems of implementation are equally experienced at the individual and institutional level as well as at the macrosystem level. The point to note here is that 'decentralization does not of itself necessarily make organizations' and systems more innovative.' Secondly, another trend in the West stresses participation in decision-making as a means of facilitating implementation. But caution has to be taken because as Hurst indicates, participation can in fact hinder change because it may permit those who object to an innovation to veto it as we have shown above with the role of communities.

According to Yannakopulos (1980) UNESCO projects in Asian and Latin American Studies all identified the need to raise educational reforms. Further, community participation and decentralization of management may be seen as

ways to improve educational quality. In the past, education administration was centralized and tended to minimise the role of Education Officers and Regional Educational Officers as well as teachers from the decision-making process. However, now the trend is to involve the above people and the local educational authority in general but the author states that despite the need for community participation to effect these types of reforms, the community per se does not necessarily become directly involved in the decision-making process.

The reforms brought about in the partnership venture have several aims viz to achieve the goal of equity in the distribution of educational opportunity and also to integrate education into the National Development Plan; and to make education more relevant and practical.

We have already discussed the curriculum relevance aspect above. With regards to equity, the curriculum is the same for all C.J.S.S. This would seem to be a promising achievement. However only time will tell whether other factors e.g. community support to the schools will have any effects on the realization of this goal. For the moment we can say that the government has done well to control the distribution of teachers and also the curriculum for the C.J.S.S. Decentralization of these aspects still has a long way before they can be considered. For a small national system like Botswana's central control may be better because it can be efficient and help overcome the gap between rural and urban areas.

The extent to which the curriculum and the role of the teachers reflect the 'community school' ideal is still very little because of the focus on trying to achieve the standards of conventional secondary schools. According to Tshireletso and Kann (1987:65-67):

Both the curriculum and teacher training still appear to be geared towards preparing for further education and not for the realities of life.

Community participation has been minimal in the curriculum process. The role of teachers and the curriculum are both geared towards conventional

schooling. It is too early to say whether the practical subjects offered in the curriculum will be of any use to the school leavers.

As we have shown, teachers do not have time to carry out community development work. Furthermore they are not trained for such activities. Botswana like many other countries is faced with the dilemma of designing a curriculum that reflects the 'right' balance between academic and practical aspects. The system still hinges on a colonial legacy of emphasizing formal aspects and being examinations oriented. Should the burden of the unemployed school leaver be shouldered by the schools alone? Unless changes in the social, economic and political framework are also made, local attempts at improving education will be a non-starter.

## **CHAPTER EIGHT**

### **COMMUNITY FINANCING AND MANAGEMENT OF SCHOOLS: EDUCATIONAL DECENTRALIZATION?**

#### **8.0.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter addresses the fifth research objective which is to determine the role of community participation in the finance and management of schools. In particular to see whether communities accept their roles both now and in the long term. The chapter examines the role of School Boards (B.O.G.'s) in school finance and management as decentralized activities. In order to assess the role of B.O.G.'s in this context, we need to understand the different concepts that are involved. The chapter is divided into five parts.

The first examines the management of C.J.S.S. and this includes; elections; functions of the B.O.G.'s and their role in decision making. The second examines school financing and decentralization. It looks at main sources of local support and kinds of contributions. The third focusses on community finance in the C.J.S.S. This includes different types of 'community'; basis for community support; types of contributions; school feeding and recurrent expenditures. The final part examines the role of district councils and focusses on tribal administration, district councils and primary schools.

#### **PART I**

##### **8.1.0 THE MANAGEMENT OF C.J.S.S.**

One of the distinctive features of the C.J.S.S. is that they are managed by locally elected Boards of Governors (B.O.G.'s) that have both locally elected members from the respective communities and a few ex-officio members that represent central government at the local level.

The aim of this section is to examine the school boards in fair detail. There will be a particular focus on the locally elected members in terms of their levels of education, age, occupation and sex. The extent to which decision making

takes place at a decentralized level and the role of B.O.G.'s in this process are looked at.

#### **8.1.1 Composition of Boards of Governors (B.O.G.'s)**

The B.O.G.'s are formally constituted governing bodies for all C.J.S.S. in Botswana. Just as in Papua New Guinea (Bray 1986), they have as their main functions raising funds and managing the schools on the community's behalf. The B.O.G.'s are not new to Botswana and were created as early as 1910 in the Colonial era when they were known as Tribal School Committees (Education report (1920); Thema (1947:75).

According to legislation, all C.J.S.S. shall be under the control and management of the B.O.G.'s established in terms of the Education Act (1986:24) and shall consist of the following members:-

- a) Four ex-officio members which include the District Commissioner or his representative; the local Member of Parliament or his nominee; one representative of the Local Authority nominated by the Authority; one member nominated by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education.
- b) The Chairman and four to seven members elected by a meeting of the local community who have to be accepted by the Local Education Authority and approved by the Minister of Education. The Chair-person is also referred to as the school manager.
- c) The school head who shall act as the secretary of the B.O.G. and one member of the teaching staff of the school who shall be nominated by the staff annually. Both the above are non-voting members.

Having looked at the composition of the B.O.G.'s above we will now attempt to look at some of their personal details such as age, sex and occupations. As noted in Chapter Four i.e. the research methods chapter, questionnaire returns for the B.O.G.'s were low. Out of a total of forty-five schools only sixteen (36%)

questionnaires were returned. However twelve managers were interviewed orally - eight from the group who had not returned the questionnaires. The reason for the poor response is looked at in chapter four. The findings are thus based on data from sixteen schools (See Appendix 13 for the B.O.G. questionnaire).

### 8.1.2 Occupations of B.O.G. Members

Table 8.1 below looks at the various occupations of B.O.G. members.

**TABLE 8.1: OCCUPATIONS OF B.O.G. MEMBERS (NO's)**

OCCUPATION	MANAGERS CHAIRPERSONS	DEPUTY MANAGERS	TREASURERS	NONEXECUTIVE MEMBERS
FARMERS	3	2	1	8
SELF-EMPLOYED BUSINESS MEN	9	4	2	3
PRIMARY SCHOOL HEADTEACHERS	-	-	-	4
PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS	-	-	2	2
COUNCILLORS	2	3	-	2
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT	1	-	-	-
HOUSEWIFE	-	-	-	4
GOVERNMENT/ LOCAL GOVT. POST	1	5	-	9
OTHER NON-GOVT. POST	-	2	7	4
UNKNOWN/ NOT STATED	-	-	4	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>36</b>

Most of the managers are businessmen owning firms such as restaurants, bottle-stores, small or general dealer stores and transport businesses. The deputy managers are the 'big-shots'. This is in reference to both their economic

standing as well as their access to political or ministerial power. Most of these hold fairly high posts in the civil service ranging from junior posts to even permanent secretary. This particular group played a less significant role when it came to meetings or visiting the schools regularly, probably due to their other pre-occupations. At least three members who were vice/deputy chairmen were interviewed. One member was a councillor; and he mentioned that he was away from home for most of the time thus making it difficult to attend local meetings. Another member was a senior executive person in the Attorney General's Chambers and he too explained the pressures from his job as a limiting factor. However this élite group, because of their contacts in the upper echelons of society were most useful in organizing funds/donations for the schools. The other board members did not mind too much the absence of the deputy managers from their meetings. The headmaster of Lehutshello C.J.S.S. mentioned how important it was to have some members working in senior executive posts in the town. Lehutshelo C.J.S.S. is in a very remote village in the Kgalagadi desert and about two hundred and fifty miles away from the nearest town. The large majority of the residents in the community are very poor. Clearly, the school depends on almost entirely all of its donations coming from the towns.

The most demanding post is that of the school manager, most of whom were self-employed businessmen as indicated in Table 8.1 above. It was quite apparent that doing both jobs well at the same time is expecting a little too much. Almost all the headmasters complained about the difficulties they were facing mainly due to poor management. Because the managers were not around for most of the time, the headmasters felt that they had to do most of the management chores in addition to running the schools. The chores ranged from driving out to buy food as meals were provided in schools; dealing with builders if there was some construction work going on; keeping an eye on the ancillary staff. One important question worth asking is why are most of the



managers businessmen? Is it because of their positions or is it simply because the communities expect the rich should run the C.J.S.S.

Out of the twelve managers who were interviewed, eight responded to this question by categorically stating that it was because of their important positions as well known and respected community members. Their businesses helped them provide one or several important services to the community and this only added to their celebrity. Almost half of the managers felt that it was due to their pioneering efforts in founding schools that they were chosen as 'community leaders'. Most of the headmasters shared this latter view but hastened to add that the high socio-economic status that businessmen enjoyed helps to put them in key commanding positions in society.

A few of the members<sup>1</sup> expressed that some politicking does take place with managers or their proposers by canvassing before the elections at the Kgotla. As one of these members said:

People just raise their hands when some names are called. They hardly discuss the merits and demerits of experience, dedication, patience or good leadership qualities of the nominees. Before we realize it, the meeting is over.

Most of the treasurers were employed as school bursars thus doing both jobs together. The consensus was in general agreement with this by most B.O.G. members and all the headmasters in the twenty five schools that were visited<sup>2</sup>. There was a constant need to purchase things e.g. food and teaching materials needed by staff so it was convenient to have the treasurer/bursar on the premises. The occupations of the ordinary members of the board varied a great deal. The above table indicates a wide range of people in different occupations e.g. farmers, teachers, businessmen, civil servants and politicians.

In general, one notes that most of the board members are persons with little schooling. Highly educated personnel/professionals such as doctors, lawyers

---

<sup>1</sup> Seven members from four C.J.S.S. held similar views but wished not to be mentioned by name.

<sup>2</sup> According to new regulations for C.J.S.S. the Government auditors check on all school accounts and financial books at the end of every financial year.

etc. hardly turned out to be involved overtly and actively on school boards. As several headmasters and managers noted e.g. in Tlokweng, Hukuntsi and in Gumare, that professional people were mostly co-opted on sub-committees e.g. fund raising committees. The main reason why such people could not be fully involved was that they were too busy with their own jobs. Another reason given was that most of the professionals were working in towns and were thus too far away from their home communities (if these were situated in rural areas) to play any active role.

In a study on Harambee schools in Kenya, Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977:42) showed some similar findings. Most of the school initiators and committee members were farmers. Government officers and politicians played a more prominent role in secondary school projects. Their general finding was that the ordinary farmers and 'low skilled' people were more actively involved. One reason cited is that the latter were community based and hence interacted more with the rest of the community in their daily life. It is more important for the poor farmer to have a community school for his own children. The professional man will be able to assist his own children into success in urban society without community schools in the rural areas!

### 8.1.3 Levels of Education

Table 8.2 overleaf examines the different levels of education of B.O.G. members.

**TABLE 8.2: LEVELS OF EDUCATION OF B.O.G. MEMBERS (NO's)**

LEVEL OF EDUCATION	MANAGERS MANAGERS	DEPUTY	TREASURERS	MEMBERS
PRIMARY 1/	5	2	3	20
JUNIOR SECONDARY	2	3	3	5
SENIOR SECONDARY	2	4	-	4
PRIMARY TEACHER TRAINING	4	3	-	6
OTHER (DIPLOMA, DEGREES)	-	2	6 2/	1
NOT STATED	3	2	4 -	
TOTALS	16	16	16	36

notes: 1/ Most of the members did the old primary education ranging from Std IV to Std VI, i.e. about 5-8 years of formal schooling.

2/ Almost all treasurers/bursars had undergone a special short course set up by the Ministry of Education.

Clearly the majority of B.O.G. members have only a primary education background. A significant number of managers and their deputies were trained primary school teachers and headteachers but were now retired. The entrance requirement for their teacher training was the completion of primary education level. It is interesting to note that about ten of the members spoken to felt that the old primary standard six was of a much higher standard than the equivalent of the present day junior certificate i.e. two or three years of secondary education. The respective managers and board members felt they were more competent in the 'three R's'. However we will return to this point later on.

The education levels of the deputy managers seem to be higher than the other members. This of course tallies with the point made earlier that a significant number of deputy managers were holding key positions in the civil service. An interesting point is that all B.O.G.'s will try and have at least one or two members from such a cadre of professionals because it helped boost the morale of the community. Secondly as noted earlier such persons were potential fund raisers even though their participation in meetings were low.

With regards to the Harambee study mentioned earlier, the authors note that the education levels for both the project initiators as well as committee members was mainly primary education. They also note that some of the leaders had no formal education at all. The C.J.S.S. are not very different. The implications for management per se and for the devolution of decision-making on various aspects are looked at later on.

#### 8.1.4 AGE LEVELS OF B.O.G. MEMBERS

The table below looks at age levels of the B.O.G. members.

TABLE 8.3: AGE OF B.O.G. MEMBERS INCLUDING SECRETARIES (NO's)

AGE GROUP	MANAGERS MANAGERS	DEPUTY	TREASURERS	MEMBERS	SECRETARIES
20-30	-	-	1	-	4
31-40	1	3	3	3	12
41-50	4	6	4	15	2
51-60	8	3	5	10	5
60+	3	1	2	3	2
NOT STATED	-	3	1	5	1
TOTALS	16	16	16	36	26

Clearly the bulk of B.O.G. members with the exception of the secretaries are above 40 years of age. Most of the managers are aged 50 or above. The reason for choosing people of this age group according to headmasters, B.O.G. members and managers themselves, is that communities generally believe that the post of a school manager requires a mature, experienced and renowned community figure. Second, the pioneering efforts for the C.J.S.S. in most villages have been carried out by the village elders. Third, the various B.O.G.

posts required a lot of time, effort and patience which younger people reportedly did not have. The way in which people are chosen is discussed further below.

Most of the headmasters are in the 31-40 year age group and thus tend to be younger than their counterparts. In the past, headmasters were chosen strictly on seniority and experience. Of late, due to the sudden increase of C.J.S.S. via the partnership programme, there is a great need of headmasters for the new schools. The government had to make a few concessions and take in a younger cadre of headteachers which was unprecedented. This change had been met with some scepticism by some albeit it has raised the aspirations for many. Some of the school managers were not keen on the young, more energetic and more educated headmaster. At least three managers tried to point out the negative aspects of young headmasters. However there was no overt animosity shown. The charismatic personality of some of the headmasters was an advantage in the easing of any tensions.

The Harambee School Studies in Kenya showed that most people on the committees or project initiators were above 40 years of age. The authors identify several reasons for elderly people's involvement namely cultural. Secondly, the migratory movements of younger people make them less likely to take a lead. Similar conditions probably obtain in Botswana.

#### 8.1.5 Sex Gender of B.O.G. Members

The sex gender of B.O.G. members is examined below.

TABLE 8.4: GENDER OF B.O.G. COMMITTEE MEMBERS

	MANAGERS MANAGERS	DEPUTY	MEMBERS	SECRETARIES	TREASURERS
MALE	15	10	26	23	6
FEMALE	-	3	10	3	6
NOT STATED	1	3	-	-	4
TOTALS	16	16	36	26	16

As Table 8.4 shows above, there is a heavy preponderance of males in most of the B.O.G. positions especially in the manager and secretary posts. What is the reason for such a dearth of female presence?

In Botswana, generally women have not been fully involved in managerial posts throughout the government and private sector. Their presence is strongly felt in teaching posts especially in primary schools where they are in the majority. Enrolment figures for schools also show a trend that there are more girls than boys in primary and junior secondary levels (Education Statistics: 1979; '82; '87). It is at senior secondary and tertiary levels that females are underrepresented. Studies by Kann and Majaha-Jartby (1982), Kann (1981) and Duncan (1985) all show these trends. The main reasons for lack of women in high managerial posts is that most of them leave school after junior secondary education either due to pregnancy or for marriage. Some of the above studies show that women have not been encouraged enough due to lack of proper guidance and counselling services and therefore they have a low job-aspiration level (see e.g. Kann, 1981).

The studies by Mbithi and Rasmusson (1977) also show a similar lack of female project initiators in Kenya. Even as ordinary committee members, they are in the minority. However there are some changes taking place in these countries and there are more women taking up further education.

#### 8.1.6 How are B.O.G. Members Chosen

The survey shows that B.O.G. members are generally chosen at Kgotla meetings. This is the traditional meeting place (see Appendix 16a) of the rural community where the Kgosi (chief) addresses the tribe/community on important issues. Members are chosen democratically in an open meeting. Various nominations are made and people vote simply by show of hands.

The responses in the B.O.G. questionnaires suggest that such characteristics as occupation, sex, ethnic background, level of education and age may be

important when B.O.G. members are chosen. The place of residence is important especially where a school is serving several villages. It is hoped to be an advantage to have representatives from several villages as this would not only ensure more equality of representation but also enhance support e.g. finance or free labour. This hope may not be easily realized (see Chapter Five and Six), as surrounding villages may withhold their support with the view that they would like their own school.

B.O.G. members are mainly chosen on the basis of how 'people view them' as one manager expressed it. Most of the headmasters contend that B.O.G. managers are mainly chosen on the basis of experience, renown and popularity. However business ownership or other economic enterprises that lead to a fairly high socio-economic status are important too, albeit seldom expressed overtly.

An interesting membership issue is the representation of teachers. Sixty per cent of the managers indicated that teachers were not chosen for B.O.G. membership. In their view, according to convention teachers have never been chosen as B.O.G. members. Second, they argue that teachers are represented by headmasters of the schools anyway. This unwritten role of B.O.G.'s not having teachers can be traced back to earlier times of the Tribal School Committees (T.S.C.) in the 1930's when confusion over this issue prevailed even then. (Thema: 1947, c.f. Chapter Seven)

The latest regulations (Draft Regulations, 1986) however make a formal provision for their inclusion. Even though most of the headmasters declared their awareness of the new regulations, a few still thought there was no provision for teacher representatives. The regulations were still under review as many changes are being made in the new C.J.S.S. By proclamation headmasters/headmistresses are on the B.O.G. as secretaries and have no voting rights. Teacher representatives similarly do not vote.

The question about teachers as B.O.G. members is a controversial one. First, the teacher is a civil servant which makes him an official. This may be one reason why there is reluctance on the part of the B.O.G.'s to accept teacher representation. Second most teachers especially at the secondary education level, are not from the same communities as the schools. Moreover, the turnover rate of teachers at the secondary level is fairly high<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, teachers feel they should be represented as they are part and parcel of the schools and have a hand in some of the management chores and school development activities. There is also, the argument that teachers cannot really do much vis a vis school and community development work due to the demands of their teaching responsibilities. (c.f. Chapter Seven).

With regards to the C.J.S.S. a precedent had been set and even though the new regulations do allow for teacher representation, accepting the change and actually implementing it will take some time.

#### **8.1.7 Functions of the B.O.G.**

As stipulated in the latest draft regulations (1986) the B.O.G.'s main function is to maintain and manage the affairs of the school. This includes taking full charge of the overall financial affairs of the school namely fund raising, budgeting and control of accounts. In addition, the B.O.G. is charged with the responsibility for employing and paying the salaries of non academic/ancillary staff such as groundsmen, cooks and a bursar.

In building a school, the B.O.G. has first to secure their rights on the lease of the land/site on which the school is to built, before registering the school. The B.O.G. has also to ensure the provision of essential facilities such as water, electricity, staff housing, assisting parents in finding accommodation for their children especially when they are from other villages. Moreover the B.O.G. has

---

<sup>5</sup> According to Headmasters, Education Officers and Director, U.T.S.



to monitor the rent charges as well as keep a watchful eye on living conditions for these children in their village.

In Chapter Six, we have noted that schools still do not have adequate essential facilities such as water, electricity and staff housing. Furthermore, B.O.G.'s have not begun monitoring rentals or checking students' living conditions in the village. B.O.G. members felt that raising funds for the school pre-occupied them and this meant there was little or no chance to see to these latter functions. Besides, a few managers and members said they could not be bothered as they felt that the onus was on the government to build hostels instead of leaving children to "roam around like delinquents".<sup>6</sup>

Council Secretaries and Education Officers<sup>7</sup> acknowledged the complaints of some parents that there was lack of adequate accommodation (c.f. Chapter Six). They said that as ex-officio members their main task was simply to interpret government policy or the statements of the Education Act. In the opinion of one headmaster, if the government would delegate some of the B.O.G. responsibilities to the Councils e.g. supervision of accommodation standards, then it would help in ensuring the upholding of the same. However as we will note later, the councils themselves lack funds and manpower to take on such responsibilities.

An interesting finding was the difference in views between the Government and B.O.G.'s on reasons for schools. Most managers indicated that the lack of opportunities at the secondary level of education was the most important issue in deciding whether a school was needed or not. Secondly, the B.O.G.'s identified community involvement in the school project in terms of donations or financial pledges of support as important. Managers felt that it was of great importance for the success of the school that the Member of Parliament and the Minister of Education regularly visit the school and address the community as this would encourage continuous community support. According to the

---

<sup>6</sup> Response of three managers.

<sup>7</sup> For e.g. in Kweneng and Mahalapye.

managers, the amount of contributions to be decided upon for the whole community is also a very important issue. They note that it is easy to get land and also to start the project on pledges, but it becomes increasingly difficult to organize funds once the project is started notwithstanding the need to sustain such support. Collecting funds once pledges are made is also tricky. The pledges are either in the form of money or cattle. In the words of one manager:-

When the time comes to collect the money or beasts that people have pledged, it is not uncommon to hear that some of these persons are not available or to hear from others still that the beasts have died.

At the time of the research, Botswana was at the peak of one of her recurring drought cycles. In bad seasons when the grazing was generally poor in most areas many animals died and beasts fetched fairly low prices in the markets.<sup>8</sup>

The Ministry of Education on its part felt that allowing communities to build schools wherever they wanted them would create problems such as the unequal distribution of schools. The government therefore tightened regulations on registration of schools. If a B.O.G. wants to register a school, they have to stipulate the number of primary school leavers in that village or area; check whether such facilities as water, land, and electricity are available, to ensure its feasibility. The Ministry was also interested in the size of the village, its location in relation to nearby villages and its economic base or potentiality. Even though the Ministry had taken over the major role in planning for the new C.J.S.S. via their school mapping exercise, the education planners were faced with the dilemma of providing on the one hand, schools in areas that might be lacking in economic potentiality but with low enrolment rates previously. The overall impression is that the government's requirements for schools are more bureaucratic ones e.g. availability of electricity; they also want schools to form a network which is aimed at a vision of a strong national system. The communities on their part, want schools so as to serve their own locality.

---

<sup>8</sup> Some people actually faked their pledges and claimed that the animal(s) they wanted to donate had died!

Management of school pre-supposes decision making. How much power do the B.O.G.'s actually have in making decisions and on which matters can they decide?

### 8.1.8 The Decision-Making Process

Table 8.5. below looks at the role of B.O.G.s in decision-making.

**TABLE 8.5: DECISION MAKING IN THE C.J.S.S. (NO's)**

ACTIVITY	DID B.O.G HAVE A ROLE		PRECISE ROLE OF B.O.G.	DID M.O.E. HAVE TO APPROVE ACTIVITY		PRECISE ROLE BY M.O.E. AND/OR OTHER BODIES
	YES	NO		YES	NO	
BUILDING CLASS-ROOMS	5	11	SUPERVISION	16	—	PROJECT INITIATOR
LABS	1	15	NONE	16	—	APPROVAL OF SUPERVISION AND INSPECTORS
STAFF HOUSES			RAISING FUNDS			M.O.E. BUILDS HALF REQUIRED STAFF HOUSES
PURCHASING LIBRARY BOOKS	—	16	NONE	10	6	M.O.E. SUPPLIES BASIC BOOKS, MATERIALS
EQUIPMENT FOR LABS	—	16	"	16	—	AND FURNITURE/LAB EQUIPMENT
CLASS-ROOMS	11	5	APPROVE REQUESTS BY TEACHERS & HEADMASTER	10	6	STAFF AND SCHOOL TO RAISE FUNDS TO BUY MOST SPORTS EQUIPMENT AND TEACHING AIDS
SPORTS	10	6	RAISE FUNDS	5	11	
EMPLOYMENT OF TRAINED TEACHERS	2	14	—	—	—	ALL TRAINED TCHERS NOW EMPLOYED BY UNIFIED TEACHING SERVICE M.O.E.
UNTRAINED TEACHERS	11	5	EMPLOY/APPROVE RECOMMENDATIONS	10	6	THE B.O.G.'S MAY EMPLOY UNTRAINED TEACHERS BUT NEED APPROVAL FROM M.O.E.
HEADMASTER	4	12	APPROVE RECOMMENDATIONS		—	
NON-ACADEMIC STAFF	16	—	EMPLOY + PAY SALARIES	4	12	B.O.G.'S EMPLOY N/A STAFF
STUDENT SELECTION	—	16	—	—	—	SELECTION AND ENROLMENT IS ENTIRELY CONTROLLED BY M.O.E.
CHOOSING CURRIC SUBJECTS	5	11				M.O.E. - STANDARD CURRIC BUT LEAVES SOME CHOICE ON PRACTICAL SUBJECTS - HEADMASTER + STAFF MAY DECIDE WITH B.O.G. APPROVAL
SCHOOL MAINTENANCE	14	2	B.O.G.'S HAVE TO PAY FOR RECURRENT EXPENDITURE	10	6	M.O.E. PROVIDES STUDENT SUBSIDIES AND FEES WHICH MAY BE USED BY B.O.G.'S TO PAY FOR EXPENSES
SALARIES FOR UNTRAINED TEACHERS	16	—	B.O.G.'S MAY RECRUIT & LAY OFF WORK UNTRAINED TEACHERS			M.O.E. CONTROLS EMPLOYMENT & PAYS SALARIES FOR ALL TRAINED TEACHERS AND MAY ALSO PAY SALARIES OF UT IF REQUESTED BY BOGs
TRAINED TEACHERS	—	16		—	—	
RULES AND REGULAT-	7	9	APPROVE RULES SET BY HDMaster	6	—	HEAD + STAFF SET MOST RULES BUT UNDER GUIDANCE FROM M.O.E.

Notes: M.O.E. = Ministry of Education

As Table 8.5 illustrates, the government is evidently in control of C.J.S.S. both in terms of finance e.g. building classrooms, laboratories and paying the teachers' salaries, and also in the decision making and control over important issues such as student enrolment and the school curriculum.

The B.O.G.'s main role lies in the maintenance of schools. By this is meant that they have to provide general supervision by making sure that school buildings and property are well looked after. We have noted in Chapter Six that the new C.J.S.S. have been built with special designs — wide corrugated verandahs, specially colourful wall designs and other features. Will maintenance of such schools not be expensive or require special expertise?

According to the Building Technical Officer in the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning <sup>9</sup>, the C.J.S.S. have been built with World Bank money and have special designs and structures which will be costly to maintain. The C.J.S.S. are built differently from the primary schools and are almost two or three times as expensive. The officer also notes:

There is no organized maintenance system for C.J.S.S. B.O.G.'s certainly do not have the administrative or maintenance skills to maintain buildings and even if the local councils were to help, they have very few skilled people and lack the necessary resources such as transport or building materials to go and service all schools in the district.

This means that even in their main tasks, B.O.G.'s will not be able to succeed and will thus be forced to seek government assistance. An alternative to seeking assistance from the central government would be to link up with local district councils who are in control of primary schools. The case of the councils is examined later on.

The other management task of the B.O.G.'s is to ensure that teachers and students are maintaining 'good discipline' by observing school regulations e.g. starting lessons on time or appearing 'smartly'. Obviously this is a thorny issue for teachers and students who view the B.O.G.'s as 'secret police'. B.O.G. members are also expected to keep an eye on school buildings and other

---

<sup>9</sup> Interview with B.T.O. Ministry of F.D.P. Gaborone, February, 2nd, 1987.

school properties/resources. As noted in Chapter Six, the high security fences around the schools help to keep the community out!

There is another important body that has been established to strengthen the links between schools and communities namely the Parents Teachers Association (P.T.A.). According to Bray (1986) where these bodies work well, they can provide a valuable channel for popular participation.

In Botswana, the P.T.A.'s are liaised by the B.O.G.'s to solicit support from the parents. The B.O.G.'s usually bring their plans or ideas to the P.T.A. meetings where parents are allowed to debate these and eventually decide on a course of action. At the time of the study, most schools were still in the process of establishing P.T.A.'s. Only 30% had already done so. The government has actually encouraged all C.J.S.S. to start P.T.A.'s (N.D.P.VI, 1986:125).

Headmasters in general pointed to some of the logistic problems that P.T.A.'s of C.J.S.S. faced. For example, where a school served several villages who was going to provide transport or pay for the costs of travelling? Second, who will make the arrangements to provide meals for parents who have travelled from far? One headmaster did not see the use of both B.O.G.'s and P.T.A.'s — he felt that B.O.G.'s were sufficient for doing what was necessary e.g. raising funds and calling parents to meetings.

Having looked at the management aspect of C.J.S.S. we now need to look at the other aspect of community participation namely school financing which is also very crucial to local level participation.

## PART II

### 8.2.0 ISSUES IN COMMUNITY FINANCING: THE CASE OF THE C.J.S.S.

The history of the role of Community financing of education in Botswana is a long one and has been looked at in Chapter Three which focuses on the evolution of the concept of community schooling in that country. However, this section only looks at issues as they relate to the new C.J.S.S.

### 8.2.1 Types of 'Community'

Chapter Five examines the concept of community in some detail so here, only those aspects related to financing will be discussed. It has already been shown that if a C.J.S.S. serves several villages, i.e. a big catchment area, then the basis for community support will be different from a school that is situated in a fairly large town or village and is meant to serve only that place or community. Community support includes financing. If we refer to Table 6.2 then this point may be better illustrated. Mahalapye C.J.S.S. and Ipelengeng C.J.S.S. are both based in fairly large towns (Mahalapye and Lobatse respectively) and have fewer students from outside their catchment areas as compared to the other two schools. Besides the latter two schools were built as intended to serve several villages. The problem for the B.O.G. is to ensure that all the villages that the school serves, contribute equally to the schools. However it appears that it is usually the village in which the school is situated that has to shoulder the responsibility in meeting most of its needs. Two trends can be identified for such a situation. The first is that parents from neighbouring villages are reluctant to contribute too much because they expect a school to be built in the near future either in their own village or nearer than the present one.<sup>10</sup> Second, the parents in the village where the school is built and to an extent those in the surrounding villages do not want to contribute to the school because it is catering for other children rather than their own.

Parents and B.O.G. members of schools in rural areas feel that schools based in towns will be better off because of the larger communities. They also feel that those communities are more affluent. The Headmasters of the schools based in towns feel that they lack a community 'neighbourhood' and feel that this may influence the financial contributions coming into the school. People living in towns may not be living there permanently or that they may still want to patronized their home village schools and some of the residents had actually

---

<sup>10</sup> A view shared by the Headmasters of Thamaga C.J.S.S.; Tonota C.J.S.S. and Okavango C.J.S.S.

organized special committees for fund raising in towns. These comprised their own people now working towns.<sup>11</sup>

Two final issues need to be mentioned. First, judging from the number of staff houses built and the other facilities required by the regulations such as kitchens, dining halls, it is apparent that some C.J.S.S. will not be able to have such facilities for a long time. Thus there is already an inequality issue arising from this arrangement in the C.J.S.S. Second, because of the staff houses, the traditional role of communities self-help initiative has changed. The effect is that now most people don't want to contribute to the schools because they feel the government should pay for everything.

#### 8.2.2 Basis for Community Support

In the past, special levies used to be enforced by Chiefs (e.g. hut tax) on every member in the community heading a household. But now the basis for community support has changed. The Chiefs still hold a respected position in their villages and though most of them are B.O.G. members or will call meetings for the C.J.S.S. at the Kgotla's, they do not wield much power and thus cannot force people to contribute to the C.J.S.S. In addition to the Chiefs, local M.P.'s and Councillors also address people in their constituencies to contribute to their schools (See Appendix 20).

The general arrangement is that each community will urge its members to contribute a beast (head of cattle) per family/household or P100-00 (approximately £35) towards the building of the school. Furthermore there are individual contributions and fund raising committees set up to collect funds both at local and national level. School fees are now abolished and so the C.J.S.S. will also have the government grants per student P250-00 which comprises P170-00 school fees (standardized) + P80-00 student subsidy to use. But this

---

<sup>11</sup> An example would be Lehutshelo C.J.S.S. fund raising committee.

money is used to pay basic running costs, without this money to fall on the C.J.S.S. would be in great financial problems.

### **8.2.3 TYPES OF COMMUNITY CONTRIBUTIONS (See also Appendix 20)**

- (i) **Cash:** in the form of donations collected at local and national levels. Each family also contributes at least P100-00 i.e. only if they have a child at the C.J.S.S. In addition some schools have introduced a P20-00 levy per parent to use this specifically for building staff houses. School fees from the government since 1988 January also provide cash income to the school.
- (ii) **Cattle/Beasts:** usually families in the community when requested by the Chief or Councillor for the first time especially when the idea of building a school is announced will pledge a cow per household. The problem with animals such as cattle is that during drought years which Botswana has just been experiencing will tend to lose market-value or get sick and die. Nonetheless animals have always been pledged for schools. Even part of the University of Botswana was built through an appeal to the nation by the late President Sir Seretse Khama to contribute a beast per family hence the famous slogan 'one man one beast'. Other animals donated include goats, sheep and poultry.
- (iii) **Labour:** for those families that cannot afford to donate money or a beast (cow) free labour has been an alternative. But labour has also been provided freely by volunteers mainly helping to build classrooms, staff houses, digging drainage systems; trenches for water pipes; moulding bricks for the various buildings; transporting of sand and other materials used for the construction process.
- (iv) **Transport:** some of the affluent people in the communities have helped the C.J.S.S. with free transport for various things such as transporting goods or students. Government schools have also shared their transport



facilities with C.J.S.S. especially to help bring in goods (books, food etc.) from towns to rural areas.

- (v) Community schools also raise funds through the school feeding programme which is discussed in more detail below.

#### 8.2.4 The School Feeding Programme

The feeding of children at school in Botswana was started at the primary school level. Most primary schools (if not all) with the exception of private or English Medium primary schools, provide for one meal on every school day for all children. There is usually a minimum fee of P3-00 which is standardized for all schools (approximately £1.00 per term). With the government's aim to increase the basic level of schooling to nine years schooling for all, this practice of 'school feeding' as it has been called has shifted to the C.J.S.S. Even though these schools are day schools, the number of students from other villages including those from within a 10 km radius of walking distance from the school was quite significant. With the school day extending well into late afternoon including study time and sports or cleaning activities, it has become almost incumbent on the school to provide a daily meal. In the primary schools, the meal is usually provided at about 11.00 a.m. (late morning) but in the C.J.S.S. it is usually during the lunch break. Unfortunately there is no standard fee set for C.J.S.S. The fee ranges from as little as P10-00 (£3.35) per term to as much as P40-00 (£14.40) per term.

According to most managers in the C.J.S.S. the school feeding fee is one way of getting income for the schools so this money could be used for other things as well, e.g. towards the building of a permanent kitchen and dining hall. In some C.J.S.S., a permanent levy had been charged per parent of about P20-00 towards the building of staff houses but this was agreed upon by parents via a B.O.G. meeting. In such schools e.g. Mahalapye C.J.S.S. the feeding fee was subsidized and kept to a minimum of P10-00 per term per student. But the

headmaster was not happy about the feeding fee at all and felt that the government should subsidize the parents/schools. He compared his school with Madiba secondary school (the government school in Mahalapye) and said that there the fee was only P4-00 per term.

Some headmasters were a little concerned that unless the government tightened its regulations on such things as 'feeding-fees', the B.O.G.'s would exploit the parents and felt that it was really unfair on parents to pay so much money for food. In at least three C.J.S.S. the researcher was told that a few students could not afford the fee. A few sympathetic headmasters were allowing such students to have a free meal when there was enough food left over.

The issue really is: should parents be made to pay for the feeding programme or not? Schools fees had been abolished and so schooling at the second level is now to be free from the beginning of 1988. Parents felt that they had done their 'share' by donating funds towards the building of the schools. Many people felt that these additional charges defeated the purposes of free schooling and would thus further delay the objective of universal nine years education for all because some parents cannot afford these extra charges (Swartland and Taylor, 1988).

#### 8.2.5 Recurrent Expenditures of C.J.S.S.

The main task of the B.O.G.'s is to maintain and run the schools. We have noted above the ways in which local community members are willing to contribute via cash or services. The question that must be asked at the end of the day is really 'Are C.J.S.S. able to maintain themselves?' Is there enough cash raised to create a deficit?

According to Swartland and Taylor (1988:149-150) if school fees are not included in the school budgets, then 'genuine community financing of recurrent costs is now very limited.' In addition to the fees, the C.J.S.S. are given a special student subsidy by government.

We have noted earlier that the C.J.S.S. are expected to be maintained by their respective communities. In addition to running costs, communities are expected to build half the required number of staff houses, a kitchen, and a dining hall. We have also noted in Chapter Six that most of these facilities have not yet been provided (see Table 6.1). For example out of the forty-five C.J.S.S. in 1986 almost 80% still did not have adequate housing facilities; very few schools had actually met the requirement of building their own staff houses. Almost all schools had not yet built a kitchen or dining hall. The schools had only improvised make-shift shelters for cooking. According to one financial adviser in the M.O.E.:

C.J.S.S. do not have any surplus and most of the new schools may soon face financial problems if the government does not step in. The largest part of their income is from fees which have to be strictly used for books and materials. The next largest source is the student subsidy which is also provided by government. This amount of Eighty Pula per student will have to be raised otherwise C.J.S.S. cannot have any deficits in their accounts.<sup>12</sup>

The financial books of C.J.S.S. are checked once a year by the Financial advisory department in the M.O.E. This helps prevent embezzlement of funds which was associated with the old private schools.

From the above, it would appear that C.J.S.S. may not be able to cope with their present financial and management problems. If the government still wants local participation then they may have to devolve more responsibilities to local district councils to assist the C.J.S.S. A discussion of decentralization and C.J.S.S. cannot be complete without looking at the district councils and their links with education at the local level.

Most C.J.S.S. lean on their local district councils for support e.g. for their transport needs. District councils also help in many other ways when called upon by the C.J.S.S. in their hours of need e.g. providing mechanics, electricians and other technicians to do repair works in the schools. This is of

---

<sup>12</sup> Decoste, M. Financial Advisor for C.J.S.S. M.O.E. Gabarone, Jan. 1987

course at an unofficial level. However the central government has called upon the local district councils to assist where possible.

### PART III

#### 8.3.0 DISTRICT COUNCILS AND DECENTRALIZATION

##### 8.3.1 Tribal Administration

As noted in Chapter Three local government before 1966 was in the hands of tribal administrations which came under the Kgosi (Chief) who was responsible for the tribes judicial, social, educational, economic and political matters. This meant that the chief decided if a school was to be built and he hired the teachers, allocated land, charged and raised revenue. The chief was advised by a group of elders who constituted the Tribal Council. However, each district was under the control and supervision of a District Commissioner (D.C.) who was assisted by a handful of clerical staff, policemen and technical officers. These together i.e. the D.C. and his staff, constituted the only representatives of central government in the district.

After independence in 1966, the government decided to keep the colonial administration system of district administration under the D.C. and a local government system which was modeled on Britain. (Picard, L. 1977) The Ministry of Local Government and Lands (M.L.G.L.) was soon made responsible for the four district institutions viz District Administration, District Councils, Land Boards and Tribal Administration. According to Reilly (1981) this gives the M.L.G.L.'s a major role in formulating rural development policy. However the M.L.G.L.'s has to work in conjunction with the Ministry of Finance and Development Planning (M.F.D.P.) which is the most powerful ministry that controls all financial resources and has several departments that are involved in planning at district level viz the Macro Economic Planning Unit; The Budget Administrative Unit and the Rural Development Unit. Our main concern will be the councils and in particular their links with Education institutions.

### **8.3.2 District Councils and Primary Schools**

The district councils have five main statutory functions namely the provision of primary education, health, roads, water supplies and community development.

According to Reilly (1981:34) the quality of both council members and staff is not high. In addition, he notes that they are unable to carry out all their functions though:

Their record for constructing capital works such as schools and health service buildings is good. However the record for maintenance of these buildings is of a much lower standard.

Reilly further notes that the councils are still heavily dependent on central government departments for the maintenance of several services such as roads and water supplies. In addition, the councils are poor at communicating and coordinating their work with other local institutions.

A report by Egner (1987) on District Councils and Decentralization notes that primary schools have suffered a great deal due to cutbacks that have been imposed on the councils. He notes (1987:94) that most primary schools have been deprived of a lot of basic commodities which have accumulated over the years (see Table overleaf).

**TABLE 8.6 PRIMARY SCHOOLS: SHORTAGES OF FACILITIES**

FACILITIES not available	1974	1979	1982
CLASSROOMS	1235	1640	1712
TEACHERS QUARTERS	1843	3068	4000
DESKS	36500	25500	66000

(Source: ED STATISTICS 1974, 1979, 1985; c.f. Egner 1987:94)

Egner (1987:96) notes that the current World Bank Loan provides for five hundred furnished classrooms over the next four years (1986-1990) whereas the requirements for 1986 alone was three hundred classrooms i.e. not including the backlog for furniture in 1985.

According to Egner it has become clear that primary education has been downgraded since 1986 to allow for the new C.J.S.S. expansion programme and notes that these have been given 96,3 million Pula for the current Plan Phase 1985/91 whilst primary education has had a cutback from P58,50 million in 1979/85 to only P30, million for the current phase. He ends the section on education by contending that if C.J.S.S. were to be controlled by the Councils, these would only succeed if they were allowed to:

Choose their own sites and set their own designs standards in line with their own capabilities. It is emphasized that councils should only take responsibilities for the C.J.S.S. if they are empowered by Statute to control the system i.e. they should not be used as construction agencies while direct and political control remains with the M.O.E.

We have already shown earlier that the present buildings of the C.J.S.S. cost a lot more than other institutions' buildings. Besides, a buildings and planning officer in M.L.G.L. argues that council maintenance crews are not yet equipped to maintain adequately the present C.J.S.S. Furthermore, three council secretaries have mentioned that they do not have the manpower or facilities e.g. adequate transport to maintain primary schools so taking on C.J.S.S. would be disastrous.

Even though the M.L.G.L.'s is in charge of primary schools at the district level via the district councils it liaises with other 'service' ministries in running the schools. For example the Ministry of Education is responsible for the primary school curriculum and examinations, school inspections, appointments of headteachers and various other functions. All these educational activities are still centralized. The district councils lack the skilled manpower to assume such responsibilities. To ease the task of the central ministry, a lot of the smaller responsibilities are delegated to the councils e.g. school inspection. However the Education Officers cannot take upon themselves the onus of making decisions. Decentralization thus only takes the form of deconcentration. Devolving responsibilities to the councils will not take place for at least a decade or more as the councils lack the expertise and those in power do not want to give up control over education.

With regards to C.J.S.S. almost all functions are still centralized. The ex-officio members on the B.O.G.'s are simply there to advise communities on the finer details of the Education Laws. In other words their roles are restricted to 'law enforces'. However for a small national system, there is more advantage with central control as this ensures equity of educational provision and opportunities.

#### 8.4.0 CONCLUSION

The School Boards of Governors are the formally constituted governing bodies for all the C.J.S.S. in Botswana and comprise both locally elected and ex-officio members. The study reveals that most of the managers are male businessmen or farmers aged over fifty. This cadre of people are chosen because of their pioneering efforts in education; they are mature, experienced and renowned persons, they are patient and are locally based. Women are found lacking in most senior and managerial positions in general. The results

are fairly comparable to the findings of a similar study in Kenya on the Harambee schools.

The study also shows that the government and communities have different reasons for building schools. The former want a strong national network whilst the latter are only interested in schools for their own locality. The government also controls the C.J.S.S. in most financial and decision-making matters e.g. student enrolments and appointments of headmasters/headmistresses.

The main task for the B.O.G.'s are to manage the schools i.e. take charge of the recurrent expenditure, provide staff houses, school kitchens, halls and employ ancillary staff. They also have to raise funds for these and other school projects. The study shows that both these functions are not only difficult but that the B.O.G.'s have not grappled well with various problems causing some conflicts with heads of schools.

There are two important points in examining the role of communities in school finance. First, the size of the community and its location in terms of being rural or urban based. Second, the definition of community in terms of whether parents are prepared to regard the school as "our school" is also a crucial factor.

Most C.J.S.S. do not have the required number of staff houses, built-up kitchens or school halls which of course means that the respective communities have not been able to meet their side of the 'partnership venture' bargain. In addition, the bulk of school finances comes from student fees and subsidies which are both provided by the government. Lack of policy on what actions the government should take against those communities that have not met their side of the bargain has only exacerbated the lack of community involvement. This does not mean that there is a lack of total commitment on the part of the communities. Clearly, communities have contributed to the C.J.S.S. in one way or another. However they prefer a one-off contribution that is difficult to sustain in the long term.



Local management is an example of decentralization but in the case of the C.J.S.S. it is mainly deconcentration of some administrative tasks. The central authority still controls most of the important decisions on the C.J.S.S. This may be better in a small national system as this helps to ensure equity in distribution of resources as well as more efficiency. It will take a good decade and more even for the system to be fully devolved. Besides the district councils do not have the manpower or resources to cope with the additional work of managing C.J.S.S.

The intention of the partnership venture was really that communities would contribute to government efforts but it appears that the communities are becoming reluctant because they feel that the government should take full responsibility for the schools. Besides communities do not have the skilled manpower to take on such tasks as developing their own curricula or maintaining particular teaching standards. Communities on their part are only too happy to delegate such tasks to the central authority.

In the final analysis, the 'ideal type' characteristics have not been found in the C.J.S.S. both in terms of their financing as well as in their management aspects.

## **CHAPTER NINE**

### **CONCLUSION**

#### **9..0.0 INTRODUCTION**

This final chapter sets out first to describe the main problem and its related objectives that the thesis focuses on. Second, an overview of the main findings and analysis under each objective is provided. Third, a few theoretical considerations are noted together with some recommendations in relation to the identified problems.

#### **9.1.0 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND RESEACH OBJECTIVES:**

The central problem as explained in Chapter Two is to understand and describe the meaning of community schooling in Botswana in relation to the new partnership venture between the government and the communities. There are five aspects to the main problem viz:

- (a) To examine the meaning of community schooling in the context of Botswana. In particular there is a need to see if there is compatibility between what the government intends to do and the needs of the communities. Further, to see if the new community junior secondary schools (C.J.S.S.) have equal inputs such as buildings, equipment, teachers and the intake level of students' as well as outputs e.g. results.
- (b) To establish the links between the schools and their communities. In particular, to see if schools and communities reciprocate in terms of shared resources, social services, leadership roles and development projects.
- (c) To examine the relevance of the curriculum and in particular to see whether the new nine year programme attempts to bridge the gap between the primary and junior secondary levels. In addition, to see if all schools are offering the same subjects and whether differences in subject offerings makes some schools more favourable than others. There is also a need to determine if any problems exist in the teaching of practical subjects and to

see if schools have a choice in deciding which subjects they would like to offer. Finally, to know the views of parents, teachers, and students and other concerned parties about the curriculum in the C.J.S.S. and the specific roles played by these groups in the development, implementation and evaluation of the curriculum.

- (d) To examine the role of teachers both in the schools as well as in the development of their respective communities. In addition, to see if there is any compatibility in the teacher training programme and that of the C.J.S.S. curriculum. Furthermore, to see if any models of teacher training such as the 'animated rurale' are being ascribed to.
- (e) To determine the role of community participation in the finance and management of schools. In particular to see whether communities accept their roles both in the short term and long term aspects of the partnership venture with the government. Further, to assess the potential for community finance and management both in terms of resources and skills.

#### **9.2.0 THE 'IDEAL-TYPE' COMMUNITY SCHOOL: MAIN CHARACTERISTICS**

From the international literature review in Chapter Two, several characteristics of the 'ideal type' community school emerge viz:-

- (i) The community school means a school for a particular community within which the school is based. The community is a well defined entity.
- (ii) The community school has strong links with its community, and it plays an important role in that community's development. It also becomes the focal point for various community activities and functions. The school and community share their resources, facilities and liaise on various development projects.
- (iii) The curriculum of the community school reflects the needs of that particular community. The community decides on what should be taught, the time-tabling, goals and objectives of that school. The community also has an

input in the curriculum namely through resources such as materials and skilled personnel or resource persons.

- (iv) The teachers are active in the schools as well as in community development projects. The teachers feel as part of the community and involve the community in the teaching of their subjects. The community in turn use the help of teachers for various ends and means.
- (v) Local management and finance of schools means that not only does the community build and run its own school, it also controls the decision-making. Local management is a decentralized activity based at the community school level.

The 'ideal type' of community school is thus based on the characteristics depicted above. This 'model' is in turn used to help assess the community junior secondary schools in Botswana to see how far they reflect the characteristics described above in light of the research objectives.

### **9.3.0 THE RESEARCH OBJECTIVES: AN OVERVIEW OF THE FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS**

#### **9.3.1 The Meaning of Community Schooling:**

The first objective on the meaning of community schooling is examined in Chapter five. The different views presented by those involved in the C.J.S.S. namely the government, parents, students, and school managers, are examined in detail.

The government's view was mainly obtained from document analysis and interviews (see Chapter Four for details).

- (i) The government policy on the C.J.S.S. is that communities should first elect a Board of Governors comprised of both locally elected members as well as ex-officio members. The communities should also provide land for the school site; build half the required numbers of staff houses; provide details of the number of primary schools that the school will serve in its catchment area;

the walking distance of students from their homes to the schools; provide accommodation for the students; and employ ancillary staff. In addition the communities are expected to look after the recurrent expenditure of the schools.

The government on their part will build the schools and this includes;- provision of classrooms, laboratories, a library, an administrative block, a multi-purpose block for courses such as technical studies and the remainder of staff houses. The government will also ensure that all the schools are the same throughout the country both in terms of inputs such as classrooms, furniture, the provision of trained teachers and the enrolment level of students. Both the curriculum and student-enrolment is centrally controlled. The Ministry will also ensure that schools are equitably distributed throughout the country.

(ii) Parents views were obtained from interviews and discussions. The analysis of parents views shows the parents have misunderstood the government policy for the C.J.S.S. First, parents thought that as these schools were community based, they would enroll all the children in that particular village on completion of their primary education. Second, parents did not clearly understand the concept of catchment areas especially where it meant that the village where a school was based had to take the onus of providing accommodation for students from other villages as well as in taking the initiatives to provide help in the form of labour or finance towards various school development activities. Providing accommodation for children from other villages also led to a number of problems:- (a) If the children did not have relatives to stay with then they had to seek private accommodation - there were fears of landlords taking advantage of the situation by hiking up rent charges. (b) Lack of parental care was alleged to lead to a breakdown in student discipline. (c) There were fears of the increase in unwanted pregnancies.

(iii) Local teachers on their part simply compared the C.J.S.S. to the counterpart government secondary schools. They did not mind working in the new C.J.S.S. as long as the facilities and privileges were the same. Expatriate

teachers on their part were influenced in their views on the C.J.S.S. by the 'community schools' concept in their own countries. For example, British teachers thought that the C.J.S.S. would be similar to community education centres in Britain.

In describing the present situation in the C.J.S.S. both groups of teachers were quick to point out other differences between those schools and government schools. They also pointed out the lack of community support in terms of school community interactions and also with regards to sponsorship for various school activities and projects. The general feeling of both groups of teachers was that it was more prestigious to teach in government (senior) secondary schools than in the C.J.S.S. Lack of government support for these schools was also indicated by most teachers.

(iv) The Boards of Governors (B.O.G.s) views were obtained mainly from questionnaires and personal interviews. However only 18 (45%) out of the 40 questionnaires were returned. Most managers defined community schools as self-help schools initiated through community efforts. In describing the current situation of the C.J.S.S. the school managers were unhappy about the increase in government involvement. Managers were comparing the situation in the present C.J.S.S. with the old self-help schools described in Chapter Three. Under the old system, the communities employed their own teachers, charged their own school fees and enrolled whom they wanted to. Now the situation was almost completely reversed with the government making most of the decisions.

(v) School heads' views were obtained through questionnaires and personal interviews. Only 24 out of the 45 (53%) of the questionnaires were returned. Most headmasters/mistresses differed in their definitions of community schools. They were partly influenced by the dynamic nature of community participation in building schools over the past century (see Chapter Three). However the new C.J.S.S. were regarded as fairly equitable schools throughout the country but still inferior to government secondary schools albeit these were now all

converted into senior secondary schools. Most heads noted that the C.J.S.S. had various problems viz:- weak community links; lack of community support; lack of resources namely transport and sports equipment; lack of power by the B.O.G.s to make decisions on various matters; and the diminishing role of community finance in general.

(vii) Students were spoken to informally. Most of them defined community schools as good conventional secondary schools i.e. providing a good level of education comparable to the good government secondary schools. Students like their teachers were influenced by the old private schools. Thus, they preferred to be in the good (senior) secondary schools and to be in towns rather than in rural areas. Students also preferred to be in hostels rather than in their home villages where they were distracted from studies by household chores.

A synthesis of the six sets of views provided above shows that the C.J.S.S. do not reflect the 'ideal-type' of community school in the following ways. First the schools are not necessarily community based as they serve several villages i.e. the catchment area varies which in turn influences the reaction of community support. Second, the schools are not built or controlled by the communities. Third, the communities do not seem to be interested in running the schools.

### 9.3.2 The Links between the Schools and their Communities

The second research objective addressed in Chapter Six examined the links between the C.J.S.S. and their communities. In particular the chapter is divided into two parts — the first focuses on the schools themselves:- the significance of the names, school locations, sites, facilities, and finally looks at the advantages and disadvantages of day schools. The second part looks at the sharing of resources, facilities, provision of leadership and social services between the schools and their communities.

9.3.2.1 (a) With regard to the significance of school names, it is noted that C.J.S.S. are named after local diKgosi (chiefs), local environmental features, or even after the self-help initiatives. School managers felt that the names helped in identifying specific communities. There are two important issues that emerge from C.J.S.S. names:- (i) Those parents not from that locality or region may not necessarily identify with the school. Conversely the parents from the locality but whose children were not admitted in that school felt that they were justified in resenting the government policy on admissions. (ii) All things being equal C.J.S.S. helped strengthen a 'community' feeling i.e. the school is identified as 'our' school for 'our' children.

(b) Most of the new C.J.S.S. have bright colours, beautiful designs, wide verandahs with big security fences. They are situated on the outskirts of villages. One reason given for this peripheral location as opposed to a more central one is that there is not much space in the middle of the villages which is being slowly encroached upon by diKgotalana (wards).

(c) It is noted that as half of the C.J.S.S. were still new at the time of the research, most of these were found lacking various facilities ranging from libraries, books, furniture, equipment for Science as well as Technical Studies, Agriculture and Sports. In a few schools water retention facilities and electricity were not yet provided. About 80% of schools lacked staff housing (see table 6.1) and this was an important issue. The government had not taken any action against those communities that had not yet met their side of the bargain namely the building of at least half of the required number of houses. This issue is discussed further on. However it is important to note that in the schools where the communities had provided staff houses, these were of a poorer quality than those provided by the government both in the C.J.S.S. as well as in the government senior secondary schools. Local staff did not mind living in the



villages where it was cheaper but were concerned about being 'cheated' as their counterparts in the senior secondary schools were living in fully furnished and subsidized houses. An interesting point is that local staff preferred to teach in their own villages where housing would not be a problem because it was both available and cheap. This is a departure from past attitudes where almost invariably young Batswana did not want to go and teach in their home villages as they wanted a change or to avoid being near close relatives.

For those schools situated in rural areas, there was a conventional agreement between the central government and local government at the district level that local council should share various resources with the C.J.S.S. e.g. electricity, transport and maintenance crews. This caused a lot of tensions for the councils who already had depleted resources and shortages of facilities and equipment for their own uses. Government senior secondary schools were also expected to help especially in the provision of transport. There was a good understanding developing between the senior secondary schools and the C.J.S.S. especially in the remote areas e.g. Ghantshi, Gumare and Maun.

(d) The enrolment of students in the C.J.S.S. is a centralized activity. The study shows that a national feeder system is used as opposed to a local catchment system. The idea of school 'catchment' areas is a tricky one and is influenced by the number of primary schools, size of the village and distance of surrounding villages from the C.J.S.S. Enrolment is also based on merit with those students who do well in the Primary School Leaving Exam (P.S.L.E.) getting admission first. All C.J.S.S. are expected to fill up spaces with children from nearest primary schools and then reaching out in a wider circle to other schools within their catchment area. If vacancies are still there, then students from other parts of the country can apply. Parents are not particularly happy about such an arrangement as they would prefer the schools to cater for all children from the same village or within a defined locality.

(e) The advantages of the C.J.S.S. as day schools is also examined. The study shows that accommodation for students is a big problem for those schools that have large catchment areas. The problems caused by lack of accommodation have already been looked at earlier. The government is slowly being forced into building hostels for the remote areas that have sparsely populated areas

9.3.2.2. The second part focuses on shared facilities, providing community leadership and social services.

(i) Shared Facilities

This is shown to be a two-way process with the school facilities such as classrooms, football grounds, and halls being used by the respective communities. On the other hand, the communities provide storage facilities, the community halls, village playgrounds and use of various equipment to the schools. School halls are generally popular venues for concerts and national events. There was some conflict on the use of school facilities. Headmasters and school managers were not keen to have people from outside the school to be wandering around the premises. Besides schools had large fences to literally keep people out.

(ii) Providing Community Leadership

School managers stressed that B.O.G.'s played a valuable role in representing the communities in the management of schools. The B.O.G. comprises of both community as well as ex-officio or government representatives. Details of B.O.G. membership and roles are looked at further on. Headmasters/headmistresses pointed out that as most C.J.S.S. were new the schools had not yet established their roles fully. However some members of staff were involved on various village level committees e.g. the Village Development Committee. Students were involved in youth clubs, sports clubs and societies.

### (iii) Social Services

Communities on their part were helping the schools in many ways for instance providing finance for a range of projects; providing accommodation for staff and students though this was not entirely free; labour and other resources. Schools in their part provided entertainment via school choir singing; competitions e.g. beauty contests or sports; fresh produce including vegetables, poultry and eggs; labour for building national or local projects; and for cleaning campaigns. Apart from this only one or two schools provided some help to disabled people or helped run literacy classes for various age groups.

9.3.2.3 In order to establish whether the C.J.S.S. have established close links with their communities in line with the 'ideal type' community school, it should be clearly stated that the definition of 'community' has a very important influence. In the case of the C.J.S.S., the concept of 'community' is not a clear one. In particular, the size of the catchment area and the distance of the community from the school play an important role. The C.J.S.S. are also not well placed in terms of central location. On the contrary most C.J.S.S. are on the outskirts or peripheries of their communities. An interesting comparison for the C.J.S.S. are the primary schools in most villages and towns. These tend to have a more clear cut, well defined community. These have also interacted much more with their communities in sharing facilities and providing various other services to each other. With regards to the C.J.S.S., parents are still not sure of their roles and the schools on their part seem to fall back on their traditional role of simply existing as teaching organizations with very little interaction with the surrounding community.

### 9.3.3 Curriculum Relevance:-

The third research objective focuses on the relevance of the curriculum of the C.J.S.S. and is addressed in Chapter Seven. The roles of concerned

groups namely parents, students, teachers and the community in the development implementation and evaluation is also addressed.

#### 9.3.3.1. Government Policy

It is noted that Western education since its inception has always been conceived as an academic type of education with an emphasis on the three 'R's. Most parents in Botswana have in turn been influenced by this 'misconception'. Over the past two decades, policy on curriculum has been influenced by the rapid expansion of the labour market without a relative increase in the number of jobs i.e. demand for jobs has exceeded the supply or availability of the same. The concern for a relevant-curriculum has been reflected in both the National Development Plans 1979/85 and 1985/1991 as well as the report of the National Commission on Education (1977) which is still used as a blue print for education in Botswana today. Despite the use of this fine rhetoric, the curriculum balance between practical and academic subjects has not been resolved.

#### 9.3.3.2 The Role of Teachers

At least 90% of the teachers had been aware of the new curriculum. However their roles in the development and implementation varied from subject to subject. Only a few were actually involved in drawing up the syllabi and writing draft questions. In Maths and Science, all teachers were provided with worksheets to try out various topics and material. Social Studies, a new subject that combines History and Geography was especially problematic as it involved teachers having to prepare for at least one whole new subject area i.e. Geography for the previously trained History teachers and vice versa. Very few teachers were involved in the actual evaluation of the curriculum.

#### **9.3.3.3. The Role of the Community**

The extent to which members of the community can participate in the curriculum development process is very limited. The Ministry does not want to involve 'lay-people' in professional matters. The community on their part also expressed the view that they would prefer the government to handle technical and professional matters as they lacked the necessary skills and know-how. However most teachers felt that in some topics the skill and resources of the community was both a necessary and important one especially in discussing the 'oral traditions' on historical matters. Furthermore in topics like Agriculture, parents were sometimes invited to explain about traditional methods of farming.

#### **9.3.3.4. The New Curriculum**

A major problem cited by almost all teachers, school heads and managers was that the curriculum of the C.J.S.S. had been planned for three years but the time span for the junior certificate level had been reduced to two years. So, there was a problem of overload of material being squeezed over a shorter teaching period. Another problem was that whilst the new curriculum called for a more student-centred approach, due to work congestion explained above; teachers were forced to cut out many activities that would reduce the teaching time that was so little anyway.

Social Studies, one of the new subjects was causing a lot of confusion. Topics had been arranged around themes combining both historical and geographical concepts. This either led to confusion via muddled presentations or repetition of particular topics. Social Studies teachers generally felt uneasy about the subject.

With regards to practical skills, although an attempt to include some practical subjects had been made e.g. Agriculture and Technical Studies, the balance of the curriculum was still towards an academic one. Technical Studies was a new subject that combines technical drawing, woodwork and some metalwork.

There were several problems in teaching this subject. (a) Some schools had still not received the necessary equipment or tools. (b) The tools used in the schools were not those that were available cheaply in the market or local hardware stores. (c) The skills taught in these subjects i.e. both Agriculture and Technical Studies were not those that could necessarily help students to start off their own work/business or be self-employed. (d) The resources used were not based on what was available in the environment.

9.3.3.5. How far was the curriculum of the C.J.S.S. reflecting the 'ideal-type' community school curriculum. First, the curriculum is centrally controlled and not based on the needs of different communities. Second, the balance between a practical or vocational orientation with an academic one still favours the latter. Third, the new curriculum does not help much in solving the problems of the school leavers who are entering an overcrowded job market that is increasing more rapidly every year with fewer jobs created in relation. Finally, education should not be seen as a panacea for social and economic ills. The government should not be seen as trying to bend over backwards in making educational policy appear to be dressing the problems that exist in the economic and social arenas. Although some efforts have been made in introducing practical subjects more needs to be done in the practical approaches involved in the teaching of particular skills. Local resources should also be used instead of expensive materials that are not easily available in the local environment.

#### 9.3.4 The Role of Teachers in the C.J.S.S. and in Community Development

The fourth research objective examines the role of teachers in both the schools as well as in the wider aspect of community development. This objective is also addressed in Chapter Seven.

#### **9.3.4.1 The Role of Teachers in the C.J.S.S.**

Teachers role in curriculum development has been looked at in the preceding section. Teachers' involvement in extra-curricula activities is quite high and these include sports, supervision, running various entertainment events, providing extra tuition in subjects outside the curriculum etc. It is also noted that 47% of teachers are involved in social welfare activities (see Table 7.3) which include being members of parents day committees, fund raising committees, and providing guidance and counselling services.

The chapter notes that due to a heavy involvement in extra-curricula activities both in and out of schools as well as an extra hectic teaching schedule due to the shortage of time on the new two-year junior certificate programme, teachers have no time for community development programmes.

#### **9.3.4.2 Teacher-Training for C.J.S.S.:**

The teacher training for C.J.S.S. has been moved from the University to the Molepolole College of Education. This college is a mono-tech offering a three-year teachers' diploma. The initial idea was to train teachers as all subject specialists. This was in relation to the initial idea of C.J.S.S. that were supposed to be small day schools that would be run by one or two teachers only. However, because the C.J.S.S. are based on the conventional secondary school model, the teacher-training has in turn been developed on similar lines. The College was still new and faced several problems: (i) New changes were being brought into the programme whilst it was being developed and implemented. So, what the first year students did was different from the previous first year groups. (ii) Some of the new subject departments such as Art and Music, were still understaffed. (iii) The college lacked various facilities and resources ranging from kitchen utensils and equipment to tools needed in the teaching of practical subjects. (iv) Students were from a mixed ability group i.e. some had prior teaching experience in primary schools as trained or

untrained teachers; some had taught as untrained teachers in secondary schools; whilst most had just completed their senior secondary schooling. Due to this, the level of instruction in the content subjects had been kept low. (v) Not much thought had been given to training teachers for community development work.

**9.3.4.3** How far were teachers in the C.J.S.S. reflecting the 'ideal type' model for community schools? Clearly, teachers do not have the time nor the relevant training to participate in community development schemes. Besides, teachers are not provided with any incentives to go beyond their teaching roles. Furthermore the C.J.S.S. are set in their patterns to emulate the government senior secondary schools which are conventional secondary schools.

### **9.3.5 Community Finance and Management**

The fifth research objective focuses on community finance and management of C.J.S.S. both of which are addressed in Chapter Eight.

#### **9.3.5.1 The Role of Community Financing**

It is noted that current interest in community participation in many countries is partly due to the contribution that communities are making in the building and financing of schools. However in Botswana, the new partnership venture has undermined the role of community building of schools. At present the government builds the schools. Communities on their part have to build staff houses, school kitchens, halls, pay the salaries of ancillary staff and take care of the recurrent expenditure of the schools.

The chapter notes that the size of community and its location in terms of it being rural or urban based is important to the financing of C.J.S.S. It is also noted that the definition of community influences the contributions people make. For instance, where parents have to send their children to a school in another



area, these parents are reluctant to contribute to the locally based school as it does not directly serve their interests. It is also noted that if a school serves several villages, the onus is on the village where the school is based in making most of the contributions in cash or kind. Parents from other villages are reluctant to help contribute to a particular school that is not in their village or town if they know that a school will soon be built in their locality.

Further, it is noted that the majority of C.J.S.S. do not have the required staff houses, kitchens or school halls. The communities simply have not been able to provide funds for the building of these requirements (in accordance with the partnership venture). The largest part of the income that schools are receiving is from school fees and student subsidies that are both obtained from the government. These funds are to be used for purchasing of books, teaching materials, food and various necessities.

**9.3.5.2 Does community financing for C.J.S.S. reflect the 'ideal type' model?**  
We have noted in Chapter Three that communities have a long tradition in financing and building schools in Botswana. However the tradition has always been one where communities helped to build schools i.e. they prefer a one-off contribution rather than having to contribute over and over again. Besides, since government has built the schools, communities feel that government should run the schools. Lack of policy on what action should be taken against those communities that do not meet their side of the bargain for instance in providing staff houses or a school kitchen, has only helped to exacerbate the lack of community involvement.

#### **9.3.5.3 The Management of Community Schools**

The management of C.J.S.S. is also examined in Chapter Eight where the role of the Boards of Governors (B.O.G.'s) is looked at in more detail. The B.O.G.'s main role is to manage the C.J.S.S. on behalf of the communities. The

chapter looks at B.O.G. membership details including how they are chosen, age levels, gender and their occupation. It is noted that most B.O.G. members especially the managers are businessmen. Their role as members is purely voluntary and done on part-time basis. Deputy managers are mainly those people who hold senior government posts or are in good positions in the private sector but play a less significant role when it comes to attending meetings or carrying out various management duties e.g. supervision of school buildings or activities. However the role of these technocrats and professionals is important in fund raising especially where the schools are in remote areas. Most professionals work in the towns and larger villages and are coopted into special fund raising committees to help collect funds in these places.

Most of the B.O.G. members have only a primary education background. A significant number of managers were ex-primary school teachers or school heads. The deputy managers are the more highly educated — some of whom hold degrees and various other qualifications. Almost all school managers are over the age of fifty and are chosen because of their renown. The B.O.G. secretaries who are school heads, tend to be younger. But this is only of late i.e. because of the demand for many headmasters or headmistresses to meet the expansion of the C.J.S.S. younger people have been recruited. In the past school heads were older. A little conflict has surfaced between the school heads and the managers over administrative vs. management functions. In many instances, the heads have to do both jobs simply because the managers have not been able to turn up when needed.

There is also a preponderance of males in most B.O.G. positions especially in the top posts such as school managers. In Botswana, women have been left out of top senior executive and managerial posts. However there does appear to be a change in this trend but it will take a while for there to be a significant amount of women school managers. Teachers have been left out of the B.O.G. membership for a long time ever since Tribal School Committees were formed

at the beginning of the twentieth century under the British rule. There is the suspicion that teachers will only cause more problems for B.O.G. members. Although B.O.G. members are chosen by the community at the Kgotla (traditional meeting place) in an open democratic meeting, there is some doubt that particular posts are selected in advance for influential people who may not necessarily be keen to work for the community in return. Some people are only after the position of e.g. 'the manager' because it is prestigious. Most of the above characteristics about B.O.G. members are similar to findings on B.O.G.'s in the Harambee schools in Kenya.

The main functions of the B.O.G. are to maintain and manage the affair of the school. The B.O.G. is also expected to liaise between the school and the government. In the building of a school, the B.O.G. has to ensure the availability of a landsite, provision of water and arrange for fund raising albeit teachers found themselves quite involved in arranging fund raisers. It is noted that the government is evidently in control of a lot of the decision-making (see table 8.5) for instance in terms of finance for building classrooms, laboratories and paying the teachers' salaries. The government also controls student enrolment and the curriculum. With regards to school maintenance it is noted that the B.O.G.'s will not be able to maintain the C.J.S.S. in the long run because they lack both the skills as well as the resources.

Parents Teachers Associations (P.T.A.'s) are another important group that help in the management of school activities. However their impact has been strongly felt in the primary schools. Although most C.J.S.S. were expected to have P.T.A.'s the study shows that only a few schools actually did and in those, the P.T.A.'s were not active. Headmasters indicated that there were logistic problems because it was difficult to get parents together for a meeting when schools covered several villages that were quite far apart. Then, there would be the transport and meal arrangements to worry about as well.

One alternative left to the government for keeping C.J.S.S. management as a decentralized activity would be to involve the local district councils more than at present. It is noted however that the councils are unable to cope with the demands of the primary school level which are under their direct supervision. The councils lack funds as well as skilled personnel. Besides, the primary schools are not the main responsibility of local government. They in turn would prefer the central government to take over full responsibility of the primary schools. In general, the councils were happy to help the C.J.S.S. at the informal level but were not keen to take a more prominent role.

9.3.5.4 How far do the finance and management aspects of C.J.S.S. reflect the 'ideal-type'? In the 'ideal-type' community school communities would want to build their own schools and run them as well. The present situation of the C.J.S.S. is that the government is actually building the schools. Communities are happy to have schools because it means more children have the opportunity to go to school. However communities have not been able to manage the schools on their own and will not be able to do so for quite some time without some help from government. In the past communities were strongly involved in the building and financing of schools. The management was always in the hands of a 'select' group. The government intervention in the financing of schools has affected the self-help initiatives of communities who have shown a tendency to withdraw their involvement.

#### **9.4.0 SYNTHESIS AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE IDEAL-TYPE COMMUNITY SCHOOL IN BOTSWANA**

In this section an attempt is made to come up with an 'ideal-type' C.J.S.S. based on the research findings 'on the ground'. This should not be mistaken to mean what the ideal C.J.S.S. ought to be but rather a brief synthesis of what is.

First, the C.J.S.S. is defined as a conventional secondary school albeit it still has a few shortcomings when compared to the government and government aided secondary schools in Botswana. The C.J.S.S. has however, improved remarkably well in comparison to the era of the old private self-help schools both in terms of inputs such as better buildings, resources, teachers and intake of students; as well as outputs i.e. examination results.

Second, the links of the C.J.S.S. with a community are weak. Like the conventional secondary school, it has not been involved in community development work per se. The sharing of resources with its community is rather a one-way process with the C.J.S.S. receiving more than it gives.

Third, the curriculum of the C.J.S.S. is inclined towards an academic orientation instead of being a balance between academic work and vocational training. The curriculum is not relevant to the needs of individual communities.

Fourth, the role of teachers is based on a more conventional teaching model focussing on teaching for examination purposes. Teachers are not provided with any incentives to carry out community development work nor are they trained for such.

Fifth, the management of C.J.S.S. has been reduced to a limited role of 'policemanning' by members of the School Board who act as the "watchdog" of the school premises for the Ministry. Decision-making is very centralized and the communities role diminishes once the school becomes operational. School finance has not been sustained and many projects such as the building of staff houses and school kitchens have not been accomplished.

Thus, the picture presented above of the C.J.S.S. is rather a gloomy one. What was intended to be a joint venture between the government and communities where the government's intention was to supplement community initiatives has resulted in the opposite.

## **9.5.0 TOWARDS THE FUTURE: ISSUES, PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **9.5.1 Introduction**

In times of austerity, when some governments have found themselves facing acute shortages of finance to develop their education systems, community financing has been one alternative to spread their financial burden. However the extent and form of community support vary widely from fund raising to the construction of entire schools.

According to Lillis (1988) community schools built entirely on their own initiatives are like double-edged swords. On the one hand community schools increase educational opportunities for those being denied further education due to a shortage of state owned schools. On the other hand they can be a 'political-time bomb' as they are often lacking various resources and are of a poorer standard than their government run counterparts. Despite this risk factor, Bray (1988) contends that community schools are indispensable in certain countries e.g. Kenya or Nepal.

The former 'self-help' private schools in Botswana arose in response to a rise in demand for secondary schooling. Chapter Three clearly shows how the government was lacking in the provision of secondary schools. However it soon became clear that these schools were poorly resourced and were performing badly compared to their government-run counterpart schools. But just as the politicians from the opposition parties were about to have a 'field day' in making much of the lack of government interest and support in these schools, the government embarked on a new partnership venture with various communities in building and managing schools. These new schools are called Community Junior Secondary Schools built with funding from the World Bank. Communities were expected to elect a local Board of Governors and manage the schools and were also expected to build half the required number of staff houses, to maintain the schools and employ ancillary staff.

According to Lillis (1988) community initiatives with some government assistance can lead to stronger school and community links. In Botswana the C.J.S.S. were more of a government initiative with some community support and while the partnership venture led to a number of benefits it also led to a number of problems that will be highlighted below. Where applicable, a list of possible solutions or recommendations is provided.

#### **9.5.2 The Meaning of Community Schooling**

The former 'self-help' private schools discussed in Chapter Two helped to increase educational opportunities at the secondary level. Unfortunately, these schools caused problems of equity both in terms of double standards when compared to their government run counterpart schools and higher user charges (school fees). The new Community Junior Secondary Schools on the other hand have had a lot of advantages over the former schools. In terms of efficiency both the actual number of schools and students enrolled have increased and the quality of education has been greatly improved (c.f. Chapter Seven), thus achieving more equity of provision. Moreover, the government's policy of free nine years basic education for all has increased educational opportunity for many at the secondary level after their successful completion of the Primary School Leaving Examination.

However, the government's drive towards universal junior secondary education by the mid 1990's was mainly a political objective as noted in Chapters One, Three, and Five. This objective has been based on a number of assumptions that have overlooked some important economic, social and educational considerations.

First, the rapid expansion of the C.J.S.S. programme between the government and communities on a joint partnership basis has rested on the assumption that all communities are the same because the size of the catchment area of the C.J.S.S. has not always been clearly defined and

because the varied economic base of the communities has not been properly considered. This in turn has led to a number of problems. For example, not all communities have been able to build the required number of staff houses as part of the agreement of the partnership venture and most of the small and remote villages/settlements with population of less than five hundred people (see Appendix 17) were not initially considered in the government's plans for being provided with schools.

Second, the current emphasis on allocating equal per capita resource inputs such as buildings, curriculum, and trained teachers at the secondary level assumes that every child who completes the primary cycle is given an equal opportunity to compete for a place at the secondary level. This unfortunately overlooks the fact that primary schools in Botswana are not of the same standard, e.g. Tswana medium schools, compared to English medium schools. As discussed in Chapter One, those children enrolled in the former category of schools are at a considerable disadvantage when compared to their counterparts in the latter category of schools.

### Recommendations

1. A full scale study should be carried out to determine the differences in the resource base that exist between various communities and how these affect the C.J.S.S. programme.
2. The Government should continue to build C.J.S.S. as these ensure equitable standards in terms of buildings and other important inputs such as laboratories and libraries. Where private funding or community financing is available for the building of a C.J.S.S. or a senior secondary school, the government should maintain some form of control to ensure acceptable and good standards.



3. The Government should attempt to close the gaps that exist between the different types of primary schools so as to ensure an equal opportunity for every child who competes for a place at the secondary level.
4. The government should build hostels for C.J.S.S. in the remote areas, or those schools with large catchment areas, but based in small villages or towns where accommodation is difficult to obtain for students. The hostels should be supervised by the Boards of Governors. Boarding masters/mistresses should be appointed by the Boards but with government approval.

#### 9.5.3 The Relevance of the Curriculum and the Links Between the School and the Community

Even though Botswana has increased universal access to schooling from seven years to nine years schooling for all, it will take a long time before senior secondary education leading to the 'O' levels will be made available to the majority of children. Thus, for most of the students, nine years of formal schooling is as far as they will go. Furthermore, the number of school leavers is estimated to be about 18,000 in 1987 (N.D.P.6. 1985). Of these, about 10,000+ will not be able to go on with their schooling. Whilst the total number of new formal sector jobs are estimated at about 11,500 per annum, the new labour force is expected to be about 21,000 per annum. The situation is a very grim one indeed and has tremendous repercussions on the relevance of education, pertinent to both developed and Third World countries.

Most curriculum experts in Botswana, both at central government and local level tend to argue in favour of a national based curriculum as opposed to one adapted to the needs of each local community. However, it should be noted that individual communities have different needs.

A national curriculum based on national norms has some disadvantages when it comes to resource inequalities that may exist among schools. For

example, not all schools may have gardens or various implements. Tools for practical courses are expensive and there is usually an unequal distribution of them throughout all schools. Skilled artisans or specially trained teachers for practical courses are also a 'scarce resource'. Chapter Seven notes some of these problems that are facing the implementation of a national based curriculum.

On the other hand, whilst a curriculum designed for local communities may articulate the different needs of the individual communities, it may not, in any case, be acceptable or desired by the schools or the communities. The former 'self-help' private schools were not under the control of the Ministry of Education and developed their own curricula. Unfortunately most of these schools had a lack of trained teachers and very poor resources, resulting in gross inequalities when compared to their counterpart government-run schools (see Chapter Three).

The findings of the present study as noted in Chapter Seven indicate that most communities would prefer a national curriculum. Reasons for such a choice are mainly that communities do not have the skilled personnel or resources to develop their own curricula. However, this does not mean that communities do not want any practical skills taught, as long as all schools are of equal standing i.e. some schools should not be regarded as being inferior to others by the choice of subjects being taught there.

The current situation in the C.J.S.S. leaves much to be desired with the crowding of three years work into two years. Though the government intends eventually to change the present interim structure of seven years primary schooling and two years junior secondary schooling to a 6-3-3 i.e. six years primary, three years junior secondary and three years senior secondary, the sooner this is done the better! The present structure makes difficult a practical orientation of teaching, which in turn affects some aspects of establishing closer links between schools and their communities. With a little more time on their

hands, teachers may take the liberty of involving both themselves and their students in community development activities which are currently lacking in the C.J.S.S.

The C.J.S.S. should continue to have a national based curriculum with a practical orientation. The National Commission on Education (N.C.E.) Report (1977) has stressed the need to change the approach to teaching individual subjects not only from a teacher centred to a student centred approach, but with the emphasis on the practical approach to teaching. This has direct implications and ramifications on teacher training, examinations, materials and resources for teaching and even time-tabling. This study has shown that not much has been changed vis a' vis the N.C.E.'s implicit and explicit suggestions. The overall aims and objectives of the nine year curriculum have changed, reflecting the need to teach practical skills based on life situations of students. In reality, subjects are still taught very theoretically and the teaching approaches are not very different from before. Science provides an exception as Zimbabwe Science Kits have been adapted to the Botswana situation.

A subject such as Technical Studies, a new practical subject which is a combination of technical drawing, woodwork and metalwork is more theoretical than practical. Besides, the things taught to students e.g. how to make a pencil box or a wooden stool are not really going to help them to be self-employed or to improve their lives in the rural areas. Furthermore, the tools or machines used will not be made available to them once they have left school. The resources or materials needed are also too costly e.g. pinewood. Curriculum developers should try and make use of local resources that students have easily available around them e.g. sand, clay, leather skins, grass, tree trunks etc.

Agriculture is the other practical subject that has now been made compulsory. The school gardens with their cabbages and carrots are all fine but most of the students will not be able to grow such vegetables in rural areas. These are not such common food items and there is a great shortage of water in

most places. Even if water is available, it will not be a simple process of turning taps on. A lot of work needs to be done in developing dry-land farming techniques, using staple crops and foods. Almost every village will have lands/agricultural fields nearby called masimo. No attempt is made to visit these places where a substantial part of most students' time is spent helping out with various chores. Aspects of animal husbandry are taught yet no attempt is made either to visit the moraka (cattle post) or to bring in animals to the school.

However, the Ministry of Education needs to be commended on making attempts to bring practical subjects into the curriculum. Achieving the right balance is not an easy task. Furthermore the literature has well recorded the debate on ruralization or vocationalization of the school curriculum (see for e.g. Lillis and Hogan, 1983).

Curriculum changes go hand in hand with changes in the examinations. The exam unit in the ministry together with the subject panels are busy trying to design new exam questions that will reflect the changes that are being introduced in individual subjects. According to Somerset (1985) teachers' attitudes towards implementing changes in the curriculum will be quickly changed once the structure of exam questions is changed. His arguments are based on curriculum reforms in Kenya where he says the desired change in teaching approaches was not being implemented. But once the style of exam questions was changed, the teachers made corresponding changes in their methods.

It has also been noted in Chapter Seven that teachers are not really trained for community development work per se. If the real objective is to develop an educational programme that has a practical orientation then it would be necessary to train teachers with a similar objective too. The British 'Community Development Model' would be a good starting point (see Appendix 6).

## **Recommendations**

1. The current structure of the 9 year basic education programme i.e. 7 years primary and 2 years junior secondary should be changed to the proposed structure of 6 years primary and 3 years junior secondary education.
2. The C.J.S.S. curriculum should continue to be national based. The scope and breadth of practical subjects should be increased to allow individual schools to choose their own subjects.
3. The relevance of the curriculum should be focussed on the needs of individual communities.
4. The teacher training curriculum for C.J.S.S. should include aspects of community development and have a practical orientation to teaching in all subjects.
5. Incentives for schools and teachers should be provided to encourage community development activities.

### **9.5.4 Community Financing and Management**

As noted in Chapter Three, community financing has played an important role throughout the development of education in Botswana from as far back as pre-colonial times towards the end of the Nineteenth Century and the beginning of the Twentieth Century. In the past however where communities built their own schools, they received limited support from the government.

The new partnership venture was a departure from the norm because it was the government that took the initiatives in building the schools and provided various important services/resources such as a national curriculum, trained teachers, libraries and laboratories. The government's intention was to build as many schools as possible hoping that communities would take care of some recurrent expenditures along with building at least half of the staff houses for each school. Quite the contrary though, as government support in the schools

has been stepped up, community involvement has receded. Several reasons may be given for the lack of community involvement.

First, communities prefer a one-off contribution e.g. towards capital expenditure. It is easier for community members to contribute towards a project if they can anticipate benefits over a long period of time. Given the choice between contributing towards the building of a school or maintaining it, community members generally opt for the former preferring the maintenance costs to come from elsewhere. But many governments also neglect maintenance costs. Second, it would appear that after a country achieves independence and begins to develop economically within a fairly stable political environment, the citizens do not want to bear the costs for various social services. Botswana has achieved a fairly rapid economic development and its citizens would prefer to enjoy the benefits of such an achievement without necessarily having to pay for the costs! Third, the locally elected Board of Governors do not hold much 'clout' in the decision-making with regard to various important matters pertaining to the running of the school. For example student enrolment, teacher and school head appointments are controlled by the government. Furthermore, Board members, especially the managers, are not paid a salary and so they are not given any incentives to carry out their respective duties including raising funds for various school costs.

To what extent can the activities of communities in the partnership venture be regarded as decentralized? According to Bray (1988) decentralization and community participation are frequently simply a model to which it is fashionable to pay lip-service. This is usually reflected in National Development Plans or Special Education Reports. Governments are pleased to accept the resources and the grass roots initiatives which coincide with their own ideas but are rarely willing to relinquish control and place themselves in a position where their policies can be undermined. Whilst there have been some

advantages in community participation it would be inappropriate to equate any reforms with greater local participation.

The C.J.S.S. also face several problems. First, they are dependent on local district councils for various services e.g. transport. The local district councils have fairly depleted resources and find C.J.S.S. a burden. Second, C.J.S.S. have to find their own means for raising funds to meet some basic costs e.g. providing food for students during the lunch break. In many instances the C.J.S.S. have to raise the 'feeding fee' which in itself is unfair to parents especially those from low income groups. Third, since the C.J.S.S. are day schools, school heads find it very difficult to maintain strict discipline over students' attendance or general behaviour. Fourth, C.J.S.S. in remote areas face great delays in receiving books and other resources due to poor communications networks. Fifth, C.J.S.S. are not provided with vehicles. This sets great limitations on various activities e.g. inter-schools sports activities. Sixth, due to a shortage of staff houses, or lack of good houses, some C.J.S.S. fear the threat of large teacher turnover.

### Recommendations

1. The Government should take over the recurrent expenditures of the C.J.S.S.
2. The role of Boards of Governors should be extended especially in some of the important decision making matters related to C.J.S.S. such as student enrolments, appointments of school heads and deciding on the choice of practical subjects for schools.
3. The Government should provide local district councils with special subsidies or other forms of assistance to enable them to share the burden of the costs involved in providing services to the C.J.S.S.
4. The Government should continue to encourage the communities to build staff houses. However the government should subsidize communities and

provide necessary technical assistance to maintain an acceptable standard of houses.

5. The feeding fee should be subsidized and kept as low as possible so as not to discriminate against students from low income homes.

#### 9.5.5 The Future of Community Initiatives

It would appear from the above that community initiatives in building schools are ending. That is not entirely true. It has been shown how communities have always responded to demanding situations in Botswana whenever these have arisen. The present C.J.S.S. expansion programme has temporarily lulled community initiatives. Already, the realization has dawned on communities that not all their children will get places in the new C.J.S.S. and particularly those students with grade 'C's. One can safely predict that parents will not take this 'light-heartedly'. Already, study groups have been started via the Department of Non-Formal Education and Village Development Committees in some rural areas e.g. Mmopane. These are now becoming popular as they are seen as alternative ways of continuing with formal education for those who cannot get places in schools. Unfortunately, these study circles lack facilities, resources and skilled/trained personnel to run them. One can already envisage the 'private self-help' schools reborn again under a different guise.

Another area which parents will be concerned about is that of senior secondary education. The government has indicated that senior secondary will not be accessible to many for still another decade or more. With many children (70%) enrolling in junior secondary and only 30% of these moving on into the next level, combined with the emerging employment problem, the government could either wait and see if communities will attempt to build private self-help schools giving rise to the second-rate low stratified schools again, or, they could plan ahead and work with communities to overcome this problem.



Finally, the problems that arose from the C.J.S.S. partnership venture such as a lack of clear policy in involving and sustaining community participation in both the financing and management of schools, the lack of trained teachers for practical subjects and of school headmasters/ headmistresses, should be carefully considered as lessons for future educational expansion.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

- ALLISON, C., (1983) The Economics of Household Demand for Children's Schooling: A Case Study of the Kweneng District of Botswana - (Ph.D. Thesis), University of London, Institute of Education.
- ANDERSON, J., (1973) Organization and Financing of Self Help Education in Kenya, I.I.E.P., Paris.
- BACCHUS, K., (1982) Integration of School and Community Learning in Developing Countries in BARNARD, R., (Ed.), The Integration of School and Community Learning in Developing Countries, (Seminar Report), University of London, Institute of Education.
- BACCHUS, K., (1988) Education and Development: Sharing our experiences - A Review of the Past and a Challenge for the Future, An International Conference, D.I.C.E., University of London, Institute of Education.
- BARCLAYS BANK, (1985) Botswana: An Economic Survey and Businessman's Guide, (Report), Barclays Botswana Limited, Gaborone.
- BARNARD, R., (ed), (1982) The Integration of School and Community Learning in Developing Countries, (Workshop Report), E.D.C., University of London, Institute of Education.
- BATTEN, E., (1980) Community Education and Ideology: A Case Study for Radicalism, in FLETCHER, C., & THOMPSON, N. (Eds.), Issues in Community Education, Falmer Press, Lewes, Sussex.
- BATTEN, T.R., (1959) School and Community in the Tropics, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- BENSON, M., (1960) Tshekedi Khama, Faber and Faber, London.
- BENSON, M., (1976) Tshekedi Khama, As I Knew Him, in Botswana Notes and Records, Vol. 8., pp.121-129.
- BERC, (1980) Basic Education Resource Centre, (Bulletin), University College, Kenyatta University, Nairobi.
- BLAUG, M., (1980) An Introduction to the Economics of Education, Penguin, Middlesex, United Kingdom.
- BOGDAN, R., & BIKLEN, S.K., (1982) Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods, Allyn and Bacon Inc., Boston, Mass.
- BOGDAN, R., & TAYLOR, S., (1975) Introduction to Qualitative Research Methods, A Phenomenological Approach to the Social Sciences, John Wiley and Sons, New York.
- BOLAM, R., & PRATT, S., (1976) The Management of Innovations in Schools, Open University Press, Milton Keynes.
- BONE, T.R., (1982) Educational Administration, British Journal of Education Studies, pp.32-42.

- BORDIA, A., (1983) Decentralization in Educational Administration: The Third World Perspective, in MALPICA, C., & RASSEKH, S., (eds), IIEP Studies, IIEP, Paris.
- BOTSWANA DEMOCRATIC PARTY, (1974) Election Manifesto, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1977a) Education for Kagisano: National Commission on Education Government, Vol.I & Vol. II, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1977b) National Policy on Education, Government White Paper, No. 1., Government Printer, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1978) Education (Private Secondary School) Regulations, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1979) Supplementary Report of the National Commission on Education, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1980) National Development Plan 1979-85, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1981) Thuto: Issue No. 1. Education, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1982) Thuto: Issue No. 2., On the Road to Success or Failure?, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1984a) Issue No. 10., Department of Non-Formal Education, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1984b) Thuto: Education Through Partnership Intermediate Schools in the Future, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1984c) At the Service of the Nation: The Annual Report of the Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1985a) Education (Government and Aided Secondary Schools) Regulations, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1985b) Thuto: Issue No. 12., The Adventure Begins (Molepolole College of Education), Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1985c) Department of Curriculum Development and Evaluation Report, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1985d) National Development Plan 1985-91, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1986a) Education Department Draft Curriculum, Molepolole College of Education.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1986b) Report on the Tour of Educational Institutions by the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.

- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1986c) Twenty Years of Education for Kagisano - The 1985/6 Annual Report, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1986/7) Botswana Daily News, Government Printers, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1987a) Education (Aided Secondary Schools) Regulations - Draft, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1987b) 2 Year Junior Certificate Examination Results, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- BOTSWANA GOVERNMENT, (1987c) Moso - Ministry of Education Publication, Gaborone.
- BRAY, M., (1982/3) The Position of Free Education in Papua New Guinea, International Journal of Educational Development, Vol. 2., No. 3., pp.281-287.
- BRAY, M., (1984) Educational Planning in a Decentralized System: The Papua New Guinea Experience, University of Papua New Guinea Press.
- BRAY, M., (1985) Educational Decentralization in L.D.C.'s: A Comment on General Trends and Problems with particular reference to Papua New Guinea, Comparative Education, Vol. 21., No. 2.
- BRAY, M., (1986) New Resources for Education: Community Management and Financing of Schools in Less Developed Countries, Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- BRAY, M., (1987) Are Small Schools the Answer? Cost-Effective Strategies for Rural School Provision, Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- BRAY, M., CLARKE, P.B., & STEPHENS, D., (1986) Education and Society in Africa, Edward Arnold, London.
- BRAY, M., & COOMBE, T., (1987) Financing Education in the Third World: Constraints and Strategies, Third World Foundation for Social and Economic Studies, London.
- BRAY, M., & LILLIS, K., (Eds) (1988) Community Financing of Education: Issues and Policy Implications in Less Developed Countries, Pergamon Press, Oxford.
- BRIAN, R., (Ed.) (1970) Education in Southern Africa, Collier-MacMillan Publishers, London, (Revised Ed.).
- BUDE, U., (1982) Towards a Realistic Definition of the Teacher's Role in Primary Schooling and the Conditions for Integration with Local Communities — Experiences and Research Evidence from the Cameroon, (Seminar Paper).
- BUDE, U., (1985) Primary Schools. Local Community and Development in Africa, Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, Baden-Baden.

- BYRAM, M., (1979) Report from Matsha Community School, Government Printers, Gaborone.
- CAMMAERTS, F., (1981) Advice on Curriculum Development: Junior Secondary Schools and Secondary School Teacher Training College, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- CAMPBELL, A., & ABBOTT, K., (1977b) "Spatial Analysis of Primary Schools in Botswana" in Education for Kagisano, Vol. II, Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- CARRON, G., & TA NGOC, C., (eds) (1980) Regional Disparities in Educational Development: Diagnosis and Policies for Reduction, UNESCO, Paris.
- CARRON, G., (1984) "Educational Planning: Past Approaches and New Prospects", in HETLAND, A., & ISHUMI, A., (eds) Educational Planning in Developing Countries, Almquist & Stokwell, Stockholm.
- CARTER, G., & MORGAN, P., (eds) (1980) From the Front Line: Speeches of Sir Seretse Khama, Rex Collings, London.
- CHAPMAN, R., (1973) Decentralization: Another Perspective, Comparative Education, pp.127-135.
- CHEEMA, S., & RONDINELLI, D., (eds) (1983) Decentralization and Development Policy: Implementation in Developing Countries, SAGE, London.
- CHIN, R., & BENNE, K., (1970), The Planning of Change, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- CHISMAN, D., (1987) Practical Secondary Education: Planning Cost Effectiveness in Less Developed Countries, Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- COLCLOUGH, C., & MCCARTHY, S., (1980) The Political Economy of Botswana: A Study of Growth and Distribution, Oxford University Press, London.
- COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT, (1974) Sixth Commonwealth Conference: Background Country Papers - (Kingston, Jamaica) Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT, (1976) Ninth Commonwealth Conference: Nicosia, Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT, (1977) Education and the Community: Partnership for Development — Report of a Commonwealth Regional Workshop, Cook Islands (8-22nd September 1976), Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London.
- COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT, (1985) Community Financing of Schools: Commonwealth Regional Workshop with Special Reference to Southern Africa, Gaborone, Botswana 12-19th June 1985 (Report), Marlborough House, Pall Mall, London.

- CONYERS, D., (1983) Decentralization: The Latest Fashion in Development Administration?, Public Administration and Development, Vol. 3., p.97-109.
- CONYERS, D., & HILLS, P., (1984) An Introduction to Development Planning in the Third World, John Wiley & Sons, Chichester, U.K.
- COOMBS, P., & AHMED, A., (1973) New Paths to Learning for Rural Children and Youth, Prepared for UNICEF by the International Council for Education Development, New York.
- CRONBACH, L.J., (1963) Course Improvement through Evaluation, Teachers' College Record, 64, 8., pp.672-83.
- CURLE, A., (1970), Education for Liberation, Tavistock Publications, London.
- DIXEY, R.A., (1984) Migration and Education at the Village Level in Botswana, International Journal of Educational Development, Vol. 1., No. 3., pp.117-119.
- DIXON, P., (1965/6) "The Khama Pattern", Teacher Education, Vol. 6., No. 2., pp.99-103.
- DONALD, G.A.H., (1981) Formal and Non-Formal Education: Their Roles and Interplay in Botswana, (Ph.D. Thesis), University of Wales — Cardiff.
- DORE, R., (1976), The Diploma Disease, G. Allen and Unwin, London.
- DOVE, L.A., (1980a) The Role of Community in Rural Transformation in Developing Countries, Comparative Education, Vol. 16., No. 1.
- DOVE, L.A., (1980b) Curriculum Reforms in Secondary Schools: A Commonwealth Survey, Commonwealth Secretariat, London.
- DOVE, L.A., (1981a) Community Service or National Service? The Implications for Teacher Training of Conflicting Models of Community Schooling, (Conference Paper), University of Durham.
- DOVE, L.A., (1981b) How the World Bank Can Contribute to Basic Education given Formal Schooling will not go away, Comparative Education, Vol. 17., No. 1., pp.173-183.
- DOVE, L.A., (1982a) The Deployment and Training of Teachers for Remote Rural Schools in Less Developed Countries, International Review of Education, Vol. 28., pp.3-29.
- DOVE, L.A., (1982b) Lifelong Teacher Education and the Community Schools, U.I.E. Monograph, No. 10., UNESCO, Hamburg.
- DUNCAN, J., (1983) "Education in the Community", Scottish Education Department Papers.
- DUNCAN, W., (1985) Dropping Out: An Analysis of the Extent and Causes of School Dropout Among Secondary School Students in Botswana, (Paper presented at a joint NIR/BERA Seminar), March 17, Gaborone.

- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (1860-1942), Impact of Missionary and Colonial Education among the Bamangwato, Botswana National Archives, (B.N.A.) 7312, Gaborone.
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (1900-1930), Education in the Bakgatla Reserve, B.N.A. R.C./12, Gaborone.
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (1905), Education in the Protectorate, R.C. 61.
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (1905), Sargant Report — Education in the B.P., B.N.A. 5242, Gaborone.
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (1920), Education in the Bamangwato Reserve, B.N.A. S/45/2, Gaborone.
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (1930-35), Board of Advice on Native Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, B.N.A. S.98/9-13, Gaborone.
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (1932), Proposed National School for Secondary Education with Cooperation of Missions and Tribes (arising out of the Bakgatla suggestion), B.N.A. S292/10, Gaborone.
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (1934-36), Proposed Creation of Native Fund, B.N.A. S.104/1, Gaborone.
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (1937-53), Native Education Policy, B.N.A. S.103/9/1-2, Gaborone.
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (undated), European Secondary Education, S.448/2)
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (undated), Inspector of Education's Memo on Proposal for the Development and Organization of Education, B.N.A. S.148/4, Gaborone.
- EDUCATION IN THE PROTECTORATE (undated), Tribal Secondary School: Proposed by the Bamangwato to establish an Educational Institution, B.N.A. S. 383/3, Gaborone.
- EGNER, B., (1986) The District Councils and Decentralization 1978-1986: Report to SIDA, Economic Consultancies, Gaborone, (Draft).
- EGNER, R., (1987) The District Councils and Decentralization 1978-1986: Report to SIDA, Economic Consultancies, Gaborone.
- ELDRIDGE, J.E., (1971) Max Weber, Thomas Nelson & Sons, London.
- ENGELHART, M.D., (1972) Methods of Educational Research, Rand McNally, Chicago.
- GARDNER, R., (ed) (1979) Teacher Education in Developing Countries: Prospects for the Eighties, University of London Institute of Education.
- GERTH, H.H., & MILLS, W., (eds) (1970) From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Lowe and Bydrome Ltd., London.

- GRANT, S., (1976) A Very Remarkable School, Botswana Notes and Records, Vol. 8., pp.88-97.
- GRANT, S., (1980) The Non-Government Contribution to Development in Botswana 1962-80, Botswana Notes and Records, Vol. 12., pp.42-47, The Botswana Society, Gaborone.
- HABTE, A., (1988) Management: Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion, (The World Bank) paper presented to D.I.C.E. International Conference (15-17th March) University of London, Institute of Education.
- HALPERN, J., (1965) South Africa's Hostages. Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.
- HARTWELL, A., (1985) The Community Financing of Secondary Schools in Botswana, (Mimeo) Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- HARTWELL, A., (1986) The C.J.S.S. Expansion Programme: Issues for Phase IV to VI (Secondary Working Group Paper), Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- HAWES, H., (1978) Planning the Primary School Curriculum in Developing Countries, UNESCO, IIEP Series No. 17, Paris.
- HOLMES, B., (1985) Policy Formulation, Adoption and Implementation in Democratic Society, in LAUGLO, J., & McCLEAN, M. (Eds). op. cit.
- HOUGHTON, H., & TREGGAR, P., (1969) Community Schools in Developing Countries, UNESCO, Institute of Education, Hamburg.
- HOYLE, E., & McMAHON, A., (eds) (1986) World Yearbook of Education: The Management of Schools, Kogan Page, London.
- HURST P., (1988) Improving the Managerial Capacity In Education, paper presented at the D.I.C.E. International Conference (15-17 March), University of London, Institute of Education.
- HURST, P., (1983) Implementing Educational Change — A Critical Review of the Literature, Occasional Papers, No. 5., Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London, Institute of Education.
- IEES, (1986) Improving the Efficiency of Educational Systems: Botswana Education and Human Resources Sector Assessment Update, Florida State University, Florida, U.S.A.
- JOLLY, R., (ed) (1969) Education in Africa, East Africa Publishing House, Nairobi.
- KAHN, M., (1988), Indicators of Equity in Junior Secondary Education in Botswana, paper presented to the conference on Botswana, University of Edinburgh, Centre for African Studies, 15th-16th December, Edinburgh.
- KANDEL, I., (1955) in HUNT, H., (ed), The New Era in Education: A Comparative Study, Houghton Mifflin, London.



- KANN, U., & TSHIRELETSO, L., (1987) Village Community Schools and Rural Development, Report for the Botswana National Commission for UNESCO, Gaborone.
- KANN, U., (1977) What do you plan to do after school?, A Study of Educational Expectations and Occupational Aspirations among Students in Botswana, University of Stockholm, (Stencil).
- KANN, U., (1981) Career Development in a Changing Society: The Case of Botswana, University of Stockholm: Institute of International Education.
- KANN, U., (1984) Problems of Equity in the Education System: The Provision of Basic Education in Botswana, in CROWDER, M., (ed) Education for Development in Botswana, MacMillan Botswana for the Botswana Society, Gaborone.
- KEMMELFIELD, G., (1972) A Community-Based Education System: A Proposal, Educational Research Unit Report, No. 3., University of Papua New Guinea.
- KHAMA, Sir S., (1969) Botswana: Democracy and Self-Reliance (1966-80), Africa Digest, October.
- KHAMA, Sir S., (1970a) Botswana — A Developing Democracy in Southern Africa, SIDA, Uppsala (Speech).
- KHAMA, Sir S., (1970b) Re-examining our Social Philosophy in Development in Botswana — Botswana Democratic Party, Gaborone.
- KING, K., (1976) Education and the Community in Africa, University of Edinburgh, Scotland.
- LAUGLO, J., (1982) Rural Primary School Teachers as Potential Community Leaders: Contrasting Historical Cases in Western Countries, Comparative Education, Vol. 14., 1.
- LAUGLO, J., & MAROPE, M.P.T., (1987) Education in Botswana 1981-86 with Swedish Support: Evaluation and Ideas for the Future, SIDA, Stockholm.
- LAUGLO, J., & McLEAN, M., (eds) (1985) The Control of Education International Perspectives on the Centralization-Decentralization Debate, Heinemann Education, for the University of London, Institute of Education.
- LEWIN, K., (1988) Valuing the Vulnerable: Responding to Austerity, paper presented at the DICE International Conference (15-17th March). University of London, Institute of Education.
- LILLIS, K., (1987) Community Financing of Education: Issues for Kenya, Journal of Education Policy, Vol. 2., No. 2., pp.99-117.
- LILLIS, K., (1988) (See Bray, M. with Lillis, K.).
- LILLIS, K., & SINCLAIR, M.E., (1980) School and Community in the Third World, Croom Helm - I.D.S. Series.

- LUNGU, G.F., (1982) Some Critical Issues in the Training of Educational Administrators for Developing Countries of Africa. International Journal of Educational Development, Vol. 3., No. 1., pp.86-97.
- MAJAH-JÄRTBY, J., (1984) Women and Educational Opportunities in Botswana, in CROWDER, M., (ed) Education for Development in Botswana, MacMillan Botswana Ltd. for The Botswana Society, Gaborone.
- MAKUNGA, G., (1986) The Role of the Education Officer on the Board of Governors of the Community Junior Secondary Schools and the Duties of the Board Members and the School Administration, (Stencil), Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- MARTIN, C.J., (1984) Community School or the Community's School?, Issues in Rural Education with Special Reference to East Africa. Compare, Vol. 14., No. 1., pp.85-106.
- MASOGO, K.M., (1986) Report on Tour of Educational Institutions by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, (May-June), Gaborone.
- MAWHOOD, P., (1971) Rural Local Government in Tropical Africa: Examples from Tanzania and Cameroon, in CAFRAD, No. 6., pp.109-117.
- MAWHOOD, P., (ed) (1983) Local Government in the Third World, John Wiley and Sons, Chichester.
- MBITHI, P., & RASMUSSEN, R., (1977) Self Reliance in Kenya: The Case of Harambee, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala.
- MILES, M.N., (1964) Innovations in Education, Teachers' College Press, New York.
- MITCHISON, N., (1964a) Articles on Teaching at Mochudi, Botswana National Archives, B.N.B. 2295, Gaborone.
- MITCHISON, N., (1964b) Future of the Protectorate, Botswana National Archives, B.N.B. 2296, Gaborone.
- MITCHISON, N., (1967) Mr Bumble and the Bakgalta: An Article on Teaching English to the Bakgalta, Botswana National Archives, N.A./B.N.B. 2280, Gaborone.
- MOLUTSI, P., (1986) Social Stratification and Inequality in Botswana: Issues in Development 1960-1980, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Oxford.
- MORGAN, J., An Analysis of Primary Science Teaching (research project), Gaborone, University of Botswana.
- MORRIS, L., (1986) Concepts of Decentralization in Education and Development, (Discussion Draft), IEES Decentralization Project, Harvard University.
- MOSO, (1985) (See Botswana Government).

- MOWATT, S., (1975) The Challenge of the School and the Community and whether or not to accept it, in RYBA, R., & KALLEN, D., (eds) School and Community, Comparative Education Society in Europe Series.
- MUNGER, E.S., (1965) Bechuanaland: Pan African Outpost or Bantu Homeland, London Institute of Race Relations, London.
- MURPHY, P.J., (1982) A New Professional Linkage for Educational Administrators in Developing Countries, International Journal of Educational Development, Vol. 3., No. 1., pp.159-163.
- NTHOYIWA, D.N., (1987) Popular Participation: The Driving Force behind Secondary Education Development in Botswana, (Stencil), National Institute of Research, Gaborone.
- OPPENHEIM, A.N., (1979) Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement, Heinemann, London.
- ORNSTEIN, A.C., (1980) Administrative Decentralization and Community Involvement: Research with Policy Implications in Viewpoints Teach and Learn, Vol. 56., pp.82-96.
- ORNSTEIN, A.C., (1982) Decentralized School Governance: Is it working? The Education Digest, Vol. 47., No. 6., pp.3-17.
- PARLETT, M., & HAMILTON, D., (1976) Evaluation as Illumination, in TAWNEY, D., (ed) Curriculum Evaluation Today: Trends and Implications, MacMillan, London.
- PARSONS, Q.N., (1984) Education and Development in Pre-Colonial Botswana to 1965 In CROWDER, M., (ed) Education for Development in Botswana, MacMillan Botswana for The Botswana Society, Gaborone.
- PAUL, U., HAMILTON, E., & WILLIAMS, R., (1986) Participation of Local Communities in the Financing of Education in Guyana, Prospects, Vol. XVI, No. 3., pp.377-387.
- PICARD, L.A., (1977) Rural Development in Botswana: Administrative Structures and Public Policy, (Mimeo), University of Nebraska.
- PICARD, L.A., (1984) Administrative Re-organization — A Substitute for Policy? The District Administration and Local Government in the Bechuanaland Protectorate 1949-1966, Botswana Notes and Records, The Botswana Society, Gaborone, p.85-97.
- PILANE, A., (1973) Notes on Early Educational Efforts among the Bakgatla, Botswana Notes and Records, The Botswana Society, Vol. 5., pp.120-123.
- PSACHAROPOULOS, G., (1977) The Perverse Effects of Public Subsidization of Education, or how Equal is Free Education?, Comparative Education Review, Vol. 21., No. 1., pp.69-91.
- RAMATSUI, P.T., (1985) Primary Teacher Training Curriculum —Community Involvement and Use of Local Resources, (Workshop Paper), Serowe Teacher Training College.

- REILLY, W., (1981) District Development in Botswana, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning, Gaborone, (Stencil).
- ROBINSON, J.C., (1986) Decentralization, Money, and Power: The Case of People-run Schools in China, Comparative Education Review, Vol. 30, No. 1., p.73-88.
- RONDINELLI, D.A., (1983) Implementing Decentralization Programmes in Asia: A Comparative Analysis, Public Administration and Development, Vol. 3, p.181-207.
- SARGANT, E.B., (1905) Education in Bechuanaland Protectorate, Botswana National Archives, B.N.B. 5242, Gaborone.
- SARGANT, E.B., (1908) Report on Native Education in South Africa, B.N.A., Gaborone.
- SCHAPERA, I., (1984) Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa, Routledge, London.
- SCRIVEN, M., (1967) The Methodology of Evaluation, in TYLER, R.W. & GAGUE, R.M. & SCRIVEN, M., (eds) Perspectives of Curriculum Evaluation, Rand McNally, Chicago.
- SIMON, M., (1984) Equity in Secondary Education in Botswana, in CROWDER, M., (ed) Education for Development in Botswana, MacMillan Botswana for The Botswana Society, Gaborone.
- SOMERSET, H.C., (1984) Factors influencing School Quality in Kenya, (Stencil), University of London Institute of Education.
- STAKE, R.E., (1976), The Measuring of Education, McCutchan, Berkley, California.
- STEVENS, R., (1967) Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, Pall Mall Press, London.
- STITH, P., (undated) Recommended Needs Assessment Studies in Support of the Junior Secondary Curriculum, (Stencil), Ministry of Education, Gaborone.
- STREET, S. & MCGINN, N., (1986) Education Decentralization: Weak State or Strong State?, Comparative Education Review, Vol. 30., No. 4., pp.471-490.
- SUDMAN, S. & BRADBURN, N., (1983) Asking Questions, Jossey-Bass, London.
- SWARTLAND, J.R. & TAYLOR, D.C., (1988) Community Financing of Schools in Botswana, in BRAY, M. & LILLIS, K., (eds) Community Financing of Education: Issues and Policy Implications in Less Developed Countries, Pergamon Press, Oxford.

- TAYLOR, D. & SWARTLAND, J., (1988) Community Financing of Schools in Botswana, in BRAY, M. & LILLIS, K., (eds), Community Financing of Education: Issues and Policy Implications in Less Developed Countries, Pergamon Press, Oxford.
- TAYLOR, D., (1986) Alternative Models for Secondary Schools in Botswana, (A Note on Research in Progress), Gaborone.
- THEMA, B.C., (1947) The Development of Native Education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate: 1840-1960, (M.A. Thesis), UNISA, Mafeking, South Africa.
- THEMA, B.C., (1968) The Church and Education in Botswana 19th Century, (Stencil), Botswana National Archives, B.N.B. 1315, Gaborone.
- THEMA, B.C., (1970) Moeding College - A Product of Self-Help, Botswana Notes and Records, Vol. 2., The Botswana Society, Gaborone, pp.11-15.
- THOMPSON, A.R., (1983) Community Education in the 1980's: What can we learn from Experience?, International Journal of Educational Development, pp.3-17.
- TLOU, T., & CAMPBELL, A., (1984) History of Botswana, MacMillan, Gaborone.
- TOWNSEND-COLES, E.L., (1984) The Story of Education in Botswana, MacMillan Botswana, Gaborone.
- TURNER, J.D. & HUNTER, A.P., (1968) Educational Development in Predominantly Rural Countries, Morija Printing, Roma, Lesotho.
- TURNER, J.D. (ed) (1969) Report of a Conference of the Principals of Secondary and High Schools of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, Secondary Schools Bulletin, Vol. 1., No. 3.
- UNESCO, (1961) Conference of African States on the Development of Education in Africa: Final Report, Unesco, Paris.
- UNESCO, (1982) Conference of Ministers of Education and those responsible for Economic Planning in African Member States, (Report), Harare.
- UNESCO, (1984) Community Participation for UPE at Local (Operational) Level, (Stencil), UNESCO Regional Office, Bangkok.
- VAN RENSBURG, P., (1974) Report from Swaneng Hill, Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Uppsala.
- WATSON, K., (1981) Teachers and Community Schools as Instruments of Rural Development: The Rhetoric and the Reality, (Conference Paper), Oxford University.
- WATSON, P.A., (1978) Towards a Model for Secondary Community Schools in Papua New Guinea, (M.A. Thesis), University of London Institute of Education.

- WATTERS, E.A., (1973) Botswana Roots of Educational Development and the Evaluation of Formal and Non-Formal Education, (Ph.D. Thesis), LeHigh University, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, pp.340.
- WEILER, H.N., (1983) The Politics of Educational Planning: Notes on the Political Economy of Education and Development, I.I.E.P., Paris.
- WILLIAMS, P., (1985) in Commonwealth Secretariat Report op. cit.
- WILLIAMS, P., (1986) Non-Government Resources for Education with Special Reference to Community Financing, Prospects, Vol. XVI, No. 2., pp.231-241.
- WORLD BANK, (1980) Education Sector Policy Paper, Washington.
- YANNAKOPULOS, (1980) Eleven Experiences in Innovations in Decentralization of Educational Administration and Management of Local Resources, UNESCO, Paris.
- YOUNG, B.L., (1982) The Role of Illuminative Evaluation in Curriculum Change: A Case Study from Indonesia, (Ph.D. Thesis), University of London Institute of Education.

## Appendix 1

### BOTSWANA: A SUCCESS STORY?

#### **Botswana's Success Against Drought**

If much of Africa is a sinking ship, Botswana is one of the few passengers wearing a life preserver.

It is a paradox because Botswana's farmers regularly lose more than 80 percent of their crops to drought. About four-fifths of the nation is desert, and only 4 percent of the land will support agriculture. Yet none of the country's one million citizens died from starvation during the most recent drought.

While neighboring nations must contend with internal strife, Botswana's citizens enjoy a stable government that has one of the best human rights records in Africa. And Botswana is at

peace with surrounding countries.

What is Botswana doing that most of Africa has failed to do?

The answer lies in the *attitude* of the government toward its citizens.

A United Nations study concluded:

"The most important problem associated with drought is not food scarcity but a collapse in rural incomes and a rise in rural unemployment. No country starves whose people have

access to reliable sources of livelihood."

After independence from Britain in 1966, Botswana set up a government that encouraged private enterprise, personal initiative and efficiency.

Botswana planned the use of its limited natural resources, and did not pursue a massive military buildup unlike many of its neighbors.

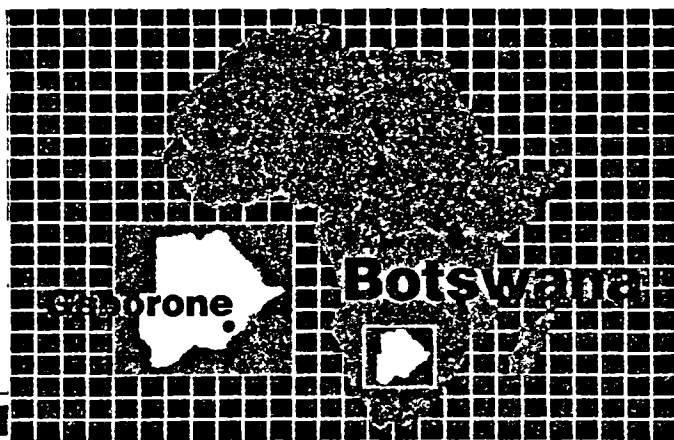
In short, the government faced reality and responded to the people's needs.

Botswana's drought and food relief efforts for its own people have been the best on the continent. An effective distribution system handles necessary imports.

The government vigorously supports research into weather patterns, agriculture and health, as well as public education about these critical areas. The government is intent on "drought-proofing" the economy.

Free enterprise is encouraged. The economy has been diversified to emphasize, in addition to agriculture, mining (Botswana is one of the world's largest diamond suppliers), beef production and other trades.

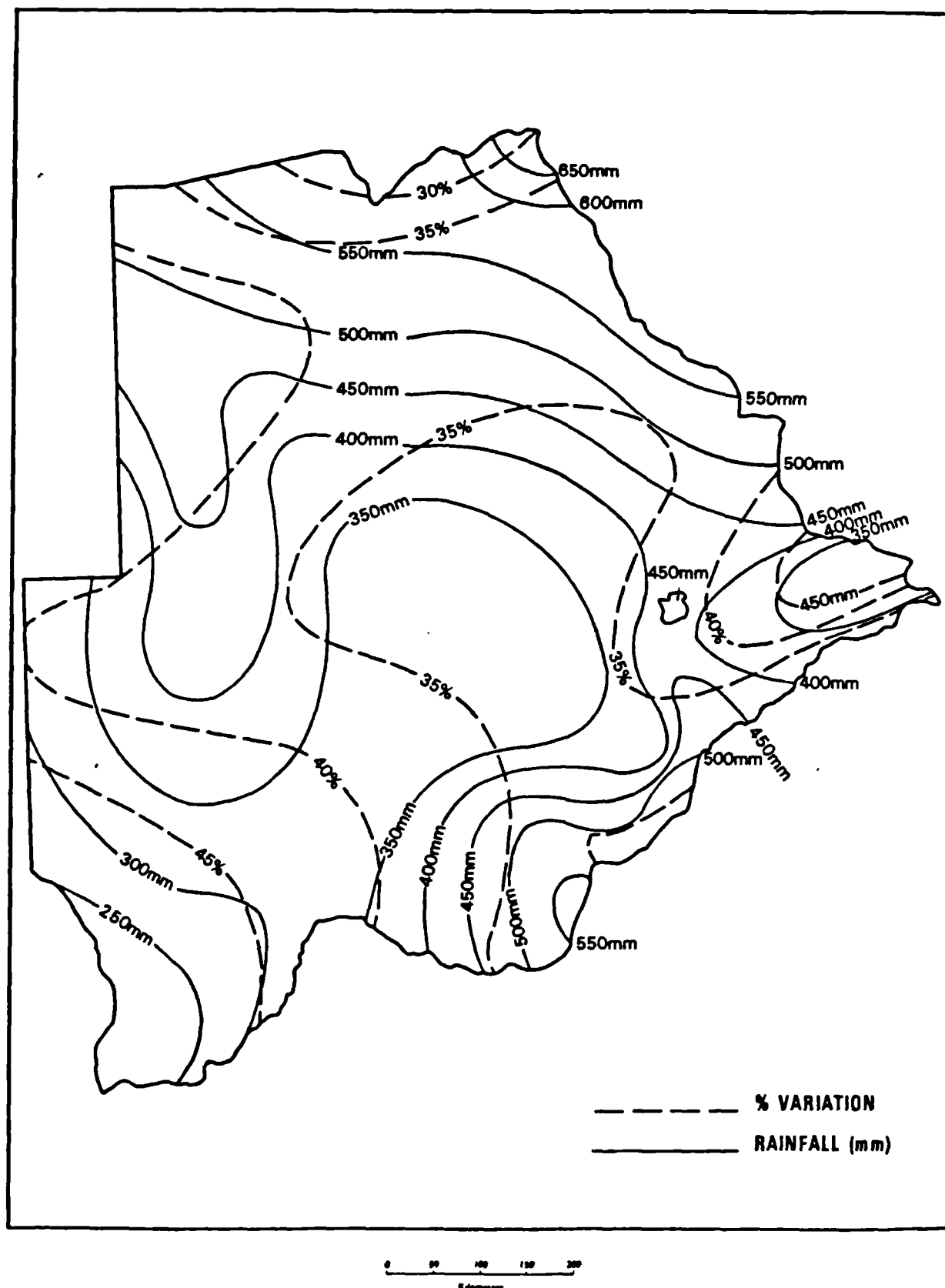
On a continent plagued by the effects of failed socialism and self-serving, dictatorial regimes, Botswana shows what can be accomplished. ■



Source: The Plain Truth, September 1987, p.27.

## Appendix 2

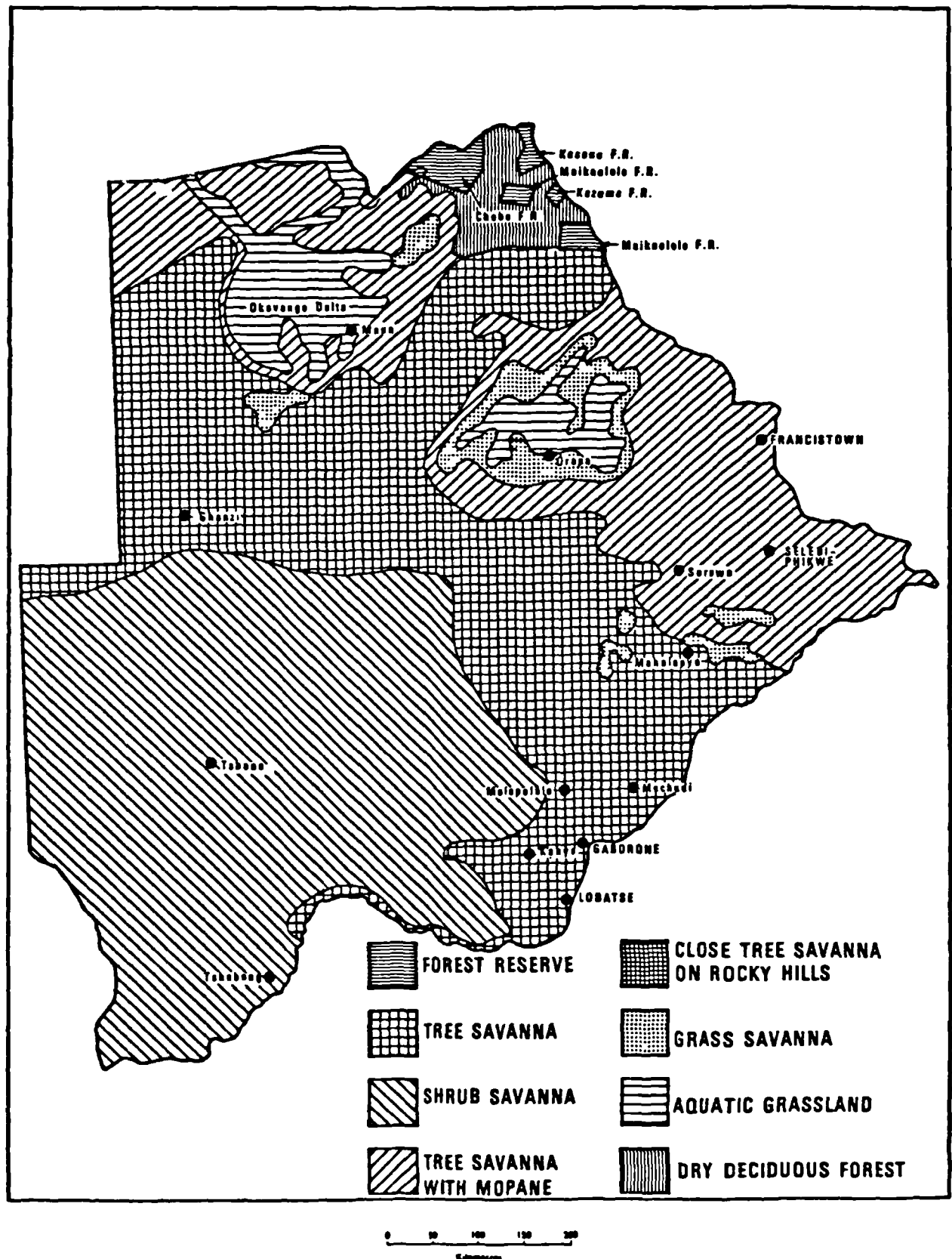
### BOTSWANA - RAINFALL



Source: National Development Plan: 1985:4.



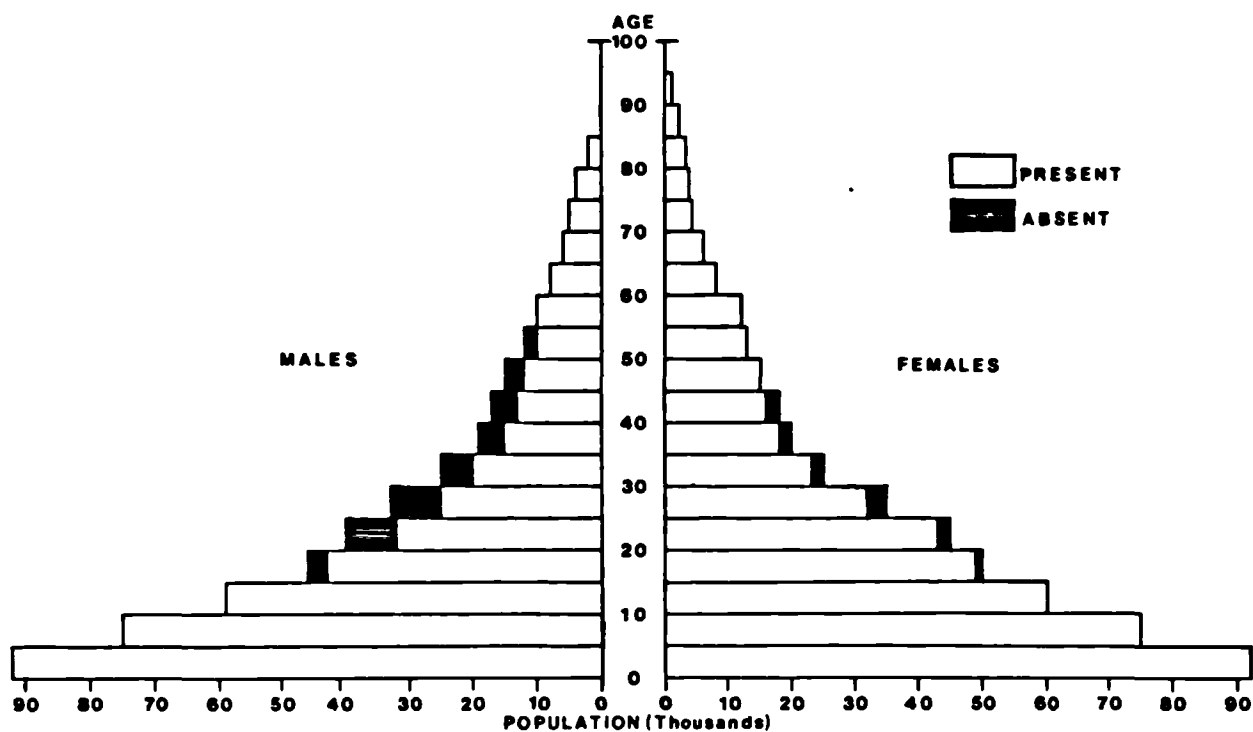
## BOTSWANA - VEGETATION



**Source: National Development Plan: 1985, December, p.7.**

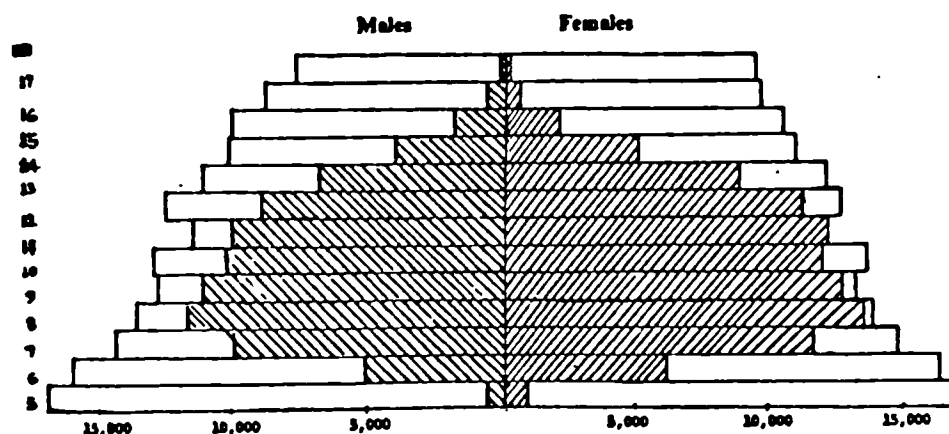
## Appendix 4(a)

### BOTSWANA - AGE AND SEX COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION



Source: 1981 Census, N.D.P.6, 1985.

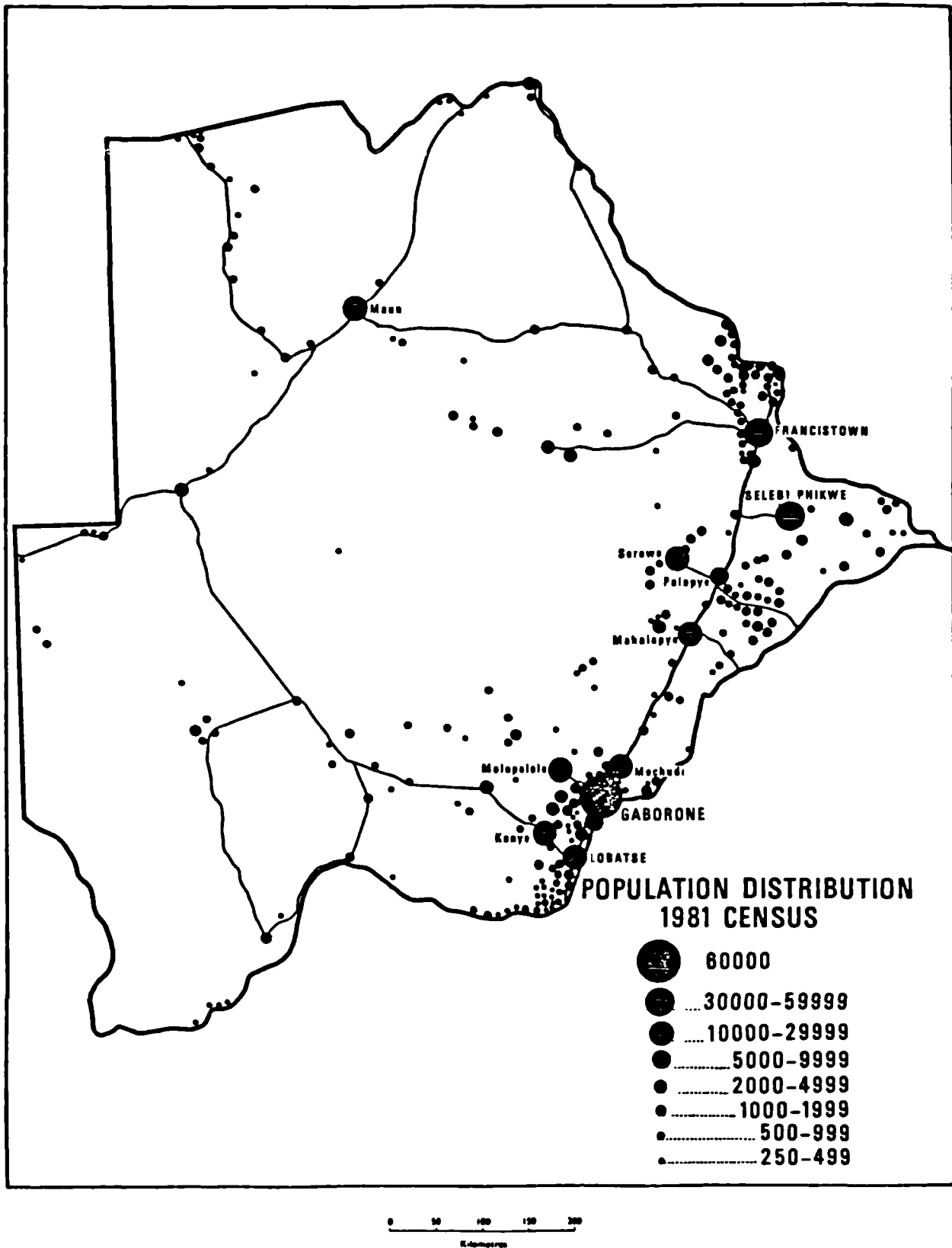
## Appendix 4(b)



Source: Census 1981, Education Statistics, 1981.

## Appendix 5

### BOTSWANA - DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION



Source: 1981 Census (c.f. N.D.P. 1985:10).

## **Appendix 6**

### **THE FRENCH MODEL - "ANIMATEUR RURALE"**

In a school reform which closely follows the "animation" model, the role of the teacher in the community tends to be marked by technocratic and authoritarian traits. In such instances the school proposes specific development projects which have been prepared by superordinate institutions (curriculum centres or ministries) and declared to be of value for the improvement of local living conditions. Changes and reforms are first demonstrated at school level, e.g. on the school farm, it being anticipated that the local population will show interest in the innovations and, with the help of the teacher, will follow the same example in order to improve their own situation. The contribution of the school to community development is made in the form of an offer which can hardly be rejected.

The assumed exemplary rational behaviour of the teachers in organization and planning their school activities almost automatically leads to leadership responsibilities in community development. The teachers/animateur becomes the community's contact person in relations with governmental and non-governmental institutions designed to introduce and initiate development projects.

#### **ASSUMPTIONS THAT ARE UNDERLYING THIS MODEL**

The limitations of the teacher's role as 'animateur' become evident when one examines the premises underlying both the concepts outlined above.

1. It is assumed that imbalances in development level within a country can be redressed by means of organized self-help. Many small projects are to contribute to improving local living conditions. The redressing of regional imbalances is considered not as an economic/political problem but as an exclusively social problem.
2. It is assumed that the community is well aware of its most acute problems and ready to articulate their 'felt needs'. Decisions regarding priorities in project implementation are taken by all community members. The community is assumed to be a harmonious social unit and internal conflicts are overlooked.
3. Despite differences in development level, it is assumed that there exists a basic set of problems which are common to all communities and which can be tackled by relevant measures.

4. The communities have not yet or have only insufficiently been able to organize and implement self-help projects.
5. The transfer of community development duties to the teacher is accepted by the local population. The teacher's performance is no longer measured exclusively on the basis of pupil examination success.
6. The community has access to extension services of different kind whose cooperation and support can be secured for intended projects.
8. Both teachers and student-teachers are prepared or can be persuaded to accept community development duties as part of their work.
9. The techniques and skills required for extension work of teachers can be imparted without great financial investment.
10. The teacher/animateur disposes of a minimum of materials equipment and financial resources with which to discharge his tasks in the community.

#### THE BRITISH "COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MODEL"

The tasks and duties of the teacher within the framework of the British community development model have a rather more clear inclination towards democracy and participation. No superordinate authority claims to know best what should be done to improve living standards in the community — the setting being left to the local inhabitants themselves. Within this scheme the teacher first organises the option-forming-process and then offers his/her services to the community leaders as a coordinator when action is to be taken. This approach to community development work can still be found in many communities in former British colonies in Black Africa, where teachers often serve as secretaries to local organizations planning and implementing development projects.

The teacher's primary function within this context is that of organizing and mobilizing the necessary expertise. This implies not only cooperation with the representatives of specific institutions (e.g. extension services, medical services, etc.), but also the mobilization of any expertise already available within the community which could be put to use in connection with the envisaged project.

Source: Watson, K., (1981)

## **Appendix 7**

### **CONSTITUTION OF KANYE TRIBAL SCHOOL COMMITTEE**

(As approved by H.H. The Resident Commissioner, Kanye, 25th Nov. 1920)

1. All members of the school committee must be members of a recognized Protestant Church. This shall not include the Magistrate and the Chief of the Tribe.
2. The Magistrate shall be Permanent Chairman and the Committee shall elect its own Secretary.
3. The Resident Dutch Reformed Church Missionary and one other local members nominated by him shall represent the D.R.C.
4. The Committee shall be elected by the LeKgotsa of the Chief, one of whom shall be the Chief.
5. The Committee shall control all appointments and dismissals of teachers. All teachers must be unconcerned members of a recognized Protestant Church.
6. The Committee shall strictly maintain and carry out the government syllabus in the school under its control, with the proviso that half hour each day shall be devoted to Religious Education.
7. All salaries of teachers shall be paid by the government through the Magistrate according to their educational qualifications
8. The Magistrate shall exercise a casting vote (in addition to his ordinary vote) on all questions brought to a vote.
9. In cases of a dispute the decision of the Resident Commissioner shall be final.
10. A quorum of seven shall be regarded for each committee meeting.

Note: Local Missionaries were decreed as Secretaries for these communities.

Source: Education in the B.P. (1920) Botswana National Archives Gaborone  
(B.N.A. R.C./12)

## Appendix 8

### TRIBAL SCHOOLS: NATIVE TEACHERS' QUALIFICATIONS

SCHOOL	TEACHER	QUALIFICATION	PLACE OF	REMARKS
SEROWE	Tibe Chiepe Letlalerwa (Temp) Kolebale (Girl)	Standard VI Standard V Standard III	Lovedale Lovedale Local	Also a certificated European head mistress & two monitors. St. III.
SHOSONG (Sic)	Nonohan Rasimeon	Standard V None	Lovedale Local	Knows no English counts up to 20.
SELEPEN	Lobane  Eno Telawa	1st year normal  Standard V None	Morija Course Lovedale Local	No certificate produced.  Knows no English can add sums of money
MOCHUDI	Pilane  Naomi (Girl)  Mone " Motse " Tamagol "	Standard V  None  " " "	Unknown  Local  " " "	Also two European teachers one certificated. Knows no English small amount of arithmetic. " " "
MOLEPOLOLE (Borakalalo)	Baruti  Makgadike Ramaphen	Standard V  Standard III Standard V	Lovedale  Local Lovedale	Also two European teachers (female) fully certificated. Teacher of night school.
MOSHOPA	Munchwari	Standard III	Kuruman	
KANYE	Chelenyane  Lenchwe	2nd year normal Course Standard IV	Lovedale  "	
RAMUTSE (sic)	Chwane	None	Seminary of Hermansburg Society, Transvaal	Teaches no English knows first 4 rules in arithmetic simple and compound.

Notes: It will be observed that when the education of a teacher has reached Standard V, it has, almost invariably, been given at Lovedale, in South Africa.

Source: Sargent, E.B. (1906) Education in the B.P., Botswana National Archive, (B.N.B. S242), Gaborone, p.9.

## Appendix 9 PROTOTYPES OF CURRICULUM EVALUATION

PROTOTYPE	KEY EMPHASIS	PURPOSE	KEY ACTIVITIES	KEY VIEWPOINT USED TO DELIMIT STUDY	OUTSIDE EXPERTS NEEDED	EXPECTED TEACHING STAFF INVOLVEMENT	RISKS	PAY-OFF
Tyler's Evaluation Model	Instructional Objectives towards objectives	To measure student competence	Specify objectives; measure student teacher	Curriculum supervisor; measurement specialists	Objectives specifiers; give tests	Conceptualize objectives;	Oversimplify school aims; ignore processes	Ascertain student progress
Institutional self-study	Staff self-study	To review content & procedures	Discuss program; make professional judgements	Classroom teacher; administrator	None, but possible outside authentication or technical help	Committee discussions	Exhaust staff; ignore values outsiders	Increase staff leadership responsibility
Stake's Countenance Model	Description & judgement data	To report the ways different people see the curriculum	Discover what audience wants to know about; observe; gather opinions	Audience of final report	Journalists; social	Keep logs; give opinions	Stir up value conflicts; ignore causes	Broad picture curriculum conflicting hopes
Stufflebeam's CIPP Model	Decision-making	To facilitate rational and continuing decision-making	Identify upcoming alternatives; study implications, set up quality control	Administrator; director	Operations analysts	Anticipate decisions, contingencies	Overvalue efficiency; undervalue student aims	Curriculum sensitive to feedback
Taba's Social Studies Evaluation Model	Cause and effect relationships	To seek simple but enduring explanation of what works	Exercise experimental control and systematics variation	Theorist; researcher	Research designer;	Tolerate experimental	Artificiality ignore personal	Get rules for developing new programs
Scriven's Goal-Free Evaluation	Evaluator's goal-free checklist	To assess effects of program	Ignore proponent claims; follow checklist	Evaluator	Jurist; curriculum analyst	Make the program accessible	Overvalue documents & record keeping	Data on effect with little cooption

Source: Jenkin, D., Open University, 1976, Units 21 & 22.



# Appendix 10

## POSITIVISM VS. PHENOMENOLOGY

### CHARACTERISTICS OF QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

<b>Qualitative</b>		<b>Quantitative</b>	
<b>Phrases Associated with the Approach</b>		<b>Phrases Associated with the Approach</b>	
-ethnographic	-participant observation	-experimental	-positivist
-field work	-phenomenological	-hard data	-social facts
-soft data	-Chicago school	-oulier perspective	-statistical
-symbolic interaction	-documentary	-empirical	
-inner perspective	-life history		
-naturalistic	-case study		
-ethnomethodological	-ecological		
-descriptive			
<b>Key Concepts Associated with the Approach</b>		<b>Key Concepts Associated with the Approach</b>	
-meaning	-understanding	-variable	-validity
-common-sense	-process	-operationalize	-statistically significant
-understanding	-negotiated order	-reliability	-replication
-bracketing	-for all practical purposes	-hypothesis	
-definition of situation	-social construction		
-everyday life			
<b>Qualitative</b>		<b>Quantitative</b>	
<b>Names Associated with the Approach</b>		<b>Names Associated with the Approach</b>	
Max Weber	Herbert Blumer	Emile Durkheim	Fred Krlinger
Charles Horton Cooley	W. I. Thomas	Lee Cronbach	Edward Thorndike
Harold Garfinkel	Everett Hughes	L. Guttman	Fred McDonald
Margaret Mead	Erving Goffman	Gene Glass	David Krathwohl
Anselm Strauss	Mary Wolcott	Robert Travers	Donald Campbell
Eleanor Leacock	Rosale Wax	Robert Sales	Peter Rossi
Howard S. Becker	George Herbert Mead		
Raymond Rist	Barney Glaser		
Estelle Fuchs	Hugh Mehan		
<b>Theoretical Affiliation</b>		<b>Theoretical Affiliation</b>	
-symbolic interaction	-culture	-structural functionalism	-logical empiricism
-ethnomethodology	-idealism	-realism, positivism	-systems theory
-phenomenology		-behavioralism	
<b>Academic Affiliation</b>		<b>Academic Affiliation</b>	
-sociology	-anthropology	-psychology	-sociology
-history		-economics	-political science
<b>Goals</b>		<b>Goals</b>	
-develop sensitizing concepts	-grounded theory	-theory testing	-show relationships between variables
-describe multiple realities	-develop understanding	-establish the facts	-prediction
<b>Design</b>		<b>Design</b>	
-evolving, flexible general	-design is a hunch as to how you might proceed	-structured, pre-determined	-design is a detailed plan of operation
-formal, specific			
<b>Written Research Proposals</b>		<b>Written Research Proposals</b>	
-brief	-not extensive in substantive literature review	-extensive	-through review of substantive literature
-speculative	-general statement of approach	-detailed and specific in focus	-written prior to data collection
-suggests areas research may be relevant to		-detailed and specific in procedures	-hypotheses stated
-often written after some data has been collected			
<b>Data</b>		<b>Data</b>	
-descriptive	-people's own words	-quantitative	-operationalized variables
-personal documents	-official documents and other artifacts	-quantifiable coding	-statistical
-field notes		-counts, measures	
-photographs			
<b>Sample</b>		<b>Sample</b>	
-small	-theoretical sampling	-large	-random selection
-nonrepresentative		-stratified	-control for extraneous variables
		-control groups	
		-precise	
<b>Techniques or Methods</b>		<b>Techniques or Methods</b>	
-observation	-participant observation	-experiments	-quasi-experiments
-reviewing various documents and artifacts	-open-ended interviewing	-survey research	-structured observation
		-structured interviewing	-data sets
<b>Qualitative</b>		<b>Quantitative</b>	
<b>Relationship with Subjects</b>		<b>Relationship with Subjects</b>	
-empathy	-intense contact	-circumscribed	-distant
-emphasis on trust	-subject as friend	-short-term	-subject-researcher
-egalitarian		-stay detached	
<b>Instruments and Tools</b>		<b>Instruments and Tools</b>	
-tape recorder	(the researcher is often the only instrument)	-inventories	-computers
-transcriber		-questionnaires	-scales
		-indexes	-test scores
<b>Data Analysis</b>		<b>Data Analysis</b>	
-ongoing	-analytical induction	-deductive	-statistical
-models, themes, concepts	-constant comparative method	-occurs at conclusion of data collection	
-inductive			
<b>Problems in Using the Approach</b>		<b>Problems in Using the Approach</b>	
-time consuming	-procedures not standardized	-controlling other variables	-obtrusiveness
-data reduction difficult	-difficult studying large populations	-replication	-validity
-reliability			

Source: Bogdan & Biklen Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods, Allyn and Bacon Inc., Boston, Mass.

## **Appendix 11**

### **THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS QUESTIONNAIRE**

**Dear Chairperson/Manager,**

**You will have received this questionnaire from the headmaster/mistress or from one of the teachers in the school.**

**Sir/Madam this questionnaire for the B.O.G. is part of my research on community schools in Botswana. The research has the necessary approval of the office of the president and the ministry.**

**I would like to kindly request that this questionnaire should be filled in preferably by the Chairperson or Deputy Chairperson of the B.O.G. or even one of the other members. It should not however be filled in by the Headmaster/Mistress as there is another questionnaire for the Headmaster/Mistress as well;.**

**Please fill it in as soon as possible. It will be collected from you by \_\_\_\_\_ . I hope to be visiting some of the schools on my field trips. I look forward to meeting you personally and discuss some issues with you and to thank you for your kind anticipated cooperation. If I do not visit your school, let me say KEA LEGOBA THATA.**

**Yours faithfully**

**Fazlur R. Moorad  
Lecturer, Educational Foundations (U.B.)**

**N.B. (Please remove/detach this front page from the questionnaire.)**

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR BOARD OF GOVERNORS (B.O.G.)**

**COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS**

Position of member of B.O.G. filling in this questionnaire \_\_\_\_\_

1. Name of School \_\_\_\_\_

2. Town/Village where school is located \_\_\_\_\_

3. District \_\_\_\_\_

4. Who is the founder of the school:-

	Approx.	Sex	Occupation	Level of Education		
				Pri.	J.Sec.	Other (specify)
(a) An Individual <input type="checkbox"/>						
(b) A Group of Individuals <input type="checkbox"/>						
(c) The Community At large <input type="checkbox"/> Year when school was founded _____						

**5. Membership of Board of Governors:-**

Position	Occupation	Sex M/F	Approx. Age	Level of Education			Other (Specify)
				Pri	J/Sec	S/Sec.	
Manager/ Chairperson							
Deputy/Vice Chairperson							
Secretary							
Treasurer							
Member							
Member							
Member							
Member							
Ex.- Officio Members							

**6. Are any of the following factors considered for the membership of the B.O.G.  
(Please tick where appropriate)**

a) Occupation

☐

b) Residence

☐

c) Ethnic

☐

d) Sex

☐

e) Age

☐

f) Level of Education

☐

g) None of the above

☐

7. If none of the above are considered, how are members chosen.

---

---

---

---

8. When a school serves several villages, does representation on the B.O.G. include members from all the villages.

Yes

☐

No

☐

Do not know

☐

9. Are teachers represented on the B.O.G.

Yes

☐

No

☐

Why?

---

---

---

---

---

10. Does the B.O.G. accept the guidelines of the Education Regulations (1978) on how to establish a B.O.G.?

Yes

☐

No

☐

If not what are the problems.

---

---

---

---

---

---

11. What are the most important matters that the B.O.G. has to consider in building the school (i.e. from your own view)

- (i) \_\_\_\_\_
- (ii) \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) \_\_\_\_\_
- (iv) \_\_\_\_\_
- (v) \_\_\_\_\_

12. What in your opinion are the factors that the Ministry of Education considers as important before registering your school:-

- (i) \_\_\_\_\_
- (ii) \_\_\_\_\_
- (iii) \_\_\_\_\_
- (iv) \_\_\_\_\_
- (v) \_\_\_\_\_

13. Who decides on school fees (as of Jan' 1986)

\_\_\_\_\_

14. Does the B.O.G. accept the guidelines for school fees in the 1978 regulations which include:-

(a) Tuition      (b) Book fee      (c) Sports fee      (d) Development Fund

Yes

☐

No

☐

Are there any additional matters that the B.O.G. feels should be considered in deciding school fees.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

15. In which of the following matters (as related to the school) does the B.O.G. participate:-

Activity	Yes	No	State precise role and/or comments (e.g. advisory, policy implementor, project initiator)	Indicate with an X where Ministry has to approve
Building of class-rooms.				
Building of labs.				
Building of staff houses.				
Maintenance				
Appointment & employment of trained teachers				
Appointment & employment of untrained teachers				
Student enrolment				
Student Discipline				
Appointment of Deputy Headmaster				
Appointment of Headmaster/ Headmistress				
Sports Facilities				
Appointment of Non-Academic Staff				

16. Who are the major funding sources for the following:-  
(use numbers where appropriate 1 - major source 2 - important source  
3 - least important).

	Government	Community	Donor (state name)	Other (specify)
Salaries of trained teachers				
Salaries of untrained teachers				
Equipment for: Labs.				
Classrooms				
Sport				
Building of: Classrooms				
Labs.				
Staff Houses				
Maintenance				
Books				
Salaries of Non-Academic Staff				

17. Does the B.O.G. responsibility for building and facilities relieve government of expenditure?

Yes

☐

No

☐

Do not know

☐

18. What in your view is "Community Schooling"?

---



---



---



19. In what way is this different from the present arrangement of the C.J.S.S.

---

---

---

---

20. Are you satisfied about the subject offered in your school?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Why?

---

---

---

---

21. The National Commission on Education (1977) indicated the following areas of cooperation between the school and community —  
How is this implemented/applicable in your school?

(a) Sharing school facilities

---

---

---

---

(b) Providing community leadership

---

---

---

---

(c) Providing social services.

---

---

---

---

22. In what way(s) does the community provide any service to the school?

---

---

---

---

23. Who determines the aims/goals of the school?

\_\_\_\_\_

24. Does the school have a Parent Teachers Association? (P.T.A.)

Yes

☐

No

☐

25. Is the B.O.G. represented by a member of the P.T.A. or vice versa.

Yes

☐

No

☐

Comment (s) (if any)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

26. What conflicts if any exist between the B.O.G. and P.T.A.?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

27. Are there any other ways in which the B.O.G. can strengthen the link(s) between the school and community?

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

28. Does changing the name of a school to a "community school" generate more community support?

Yes

☐

No

☐

Do not know

☐

29. Does the name help identify the specific community the school serves?

Yes

☐

No

☐

30. On average how many meetings does the B.O.G. have?

5-10

3-5

1-3

31. Additional comments (if any).

---

---

---

---

---

---

Thank you for your kind cooperation.

Fazlur R. Moorad

## Appendix 12

### QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHERS (COMMUNITY JUNIOR SEC. SCHOOLS)

#### SECTION A: (PERSONAL DATA)

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

1. Name of School: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Town/Village where school is located: \_\_\_\_\_

3. District: \_\_\_\_\_

4. Sex:    Male    ☐                      (Please tick where appropriate)  
             Female   ☐

5. Nationality: \_\_\_\_\_

6. Qualifications:-	Trained	Untrained (i.e. No formal Teacher training)
Certificate/Diploma but no degree	<input type="checkbox"/>	O-Level/Matric <span style="float: right; text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/></span>
Degree + Cert./Diploma	<input type="checkbox"/>	Degree <span style="float: right; text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/></span>
Other (specify) _____		Other (specify) _____

7. Teaching Experience:		
Name of School	No. of yrs. & Months taught	Post of Responsibility
i. _____		
ii. _____		
iii. _____		
iv. _____		
v. _____		
vi. _____		
vii. _____		
<b>Total No. of Years &amp; Months</b>		

**SECTION B. (TEACHER TRAINING)**

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

8. During your training, which were your specialist subjects

Major Subjects	
Minor Subjects	

9. On average how many teaching periods do you have this year?

Subject	No. of Periods
i)	
ii)	
iii)	

10. Apart from teaching which other activities are you involved with (in the School)

- i) \_\_\_\_\_
- ii) \_\_\_\_\_
- iii) \_\_\_\_\_
- iv) \_\_\_\_\_
- v) \_\_\_\_\_

11. (a) How would you classify your home place?

Town	
Rural town (District Capital	
Large Village (10,000+)	
Small Village (5-10 Thousand)	
Other (Specify):	

(b) District: \_\_\_\_\_

(c) Would you prefer to teach in your home village/town

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (d) Why: i) \_\_\_\_\_
- ii) \_\_\_\_\_
- iii) \_\_\_\_\_

## SECTION C — CURRICULUM

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

12. According to government policy a new curriculum will be introduced in all C.J.S.S. from January 1986.

Are you already implementing this policy?

Yes

☐

No

☐

13. What are the major differences in the new curriculum as compared to the old one as you see them (vis a vis your subject(s))

i)

---

ii)

---

iii)

---

iv)

---

v)

---

vi)

---

vii) There are no new developments.

☐

14. At which level were you consulted in the development of the new curriculum:-

a) Planning Process

☐

b) Reviewing draft proposal

☐

c) Implementation

☐

d) Not consulted

☐

e) Other (Specify)

Please state the precise role you played:

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

15. If you were not consulted, in what way do you feel you could contribute towards the development of the new curriculum?

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

16. Has your teacher training helped you to cope with any changes in the curriculum?

Yes

☐

No

☐

If not, what are the problems:

---

---

---

---

17. In what ways do the methods/approaches of teaching required in the new curriculum differ from those in the old one:

i)

---

ii)

---

iii)

---

---

---

**SECTION D — SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY**

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

**18. What is "Community Schooling" in your own view?**

---

---

---

---

---

**19. In what way(s) is this different from the present arrangement/  
situation of the C.J.S.S.**

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

---

**20. (a) Are you a member of any clubs/organizations in your community  
(i.e. where you live whilst employed at the present school)**

Yes

☐

No

☐

**(b) Which are they (e.g. women's society, church, p.t.a.)**

---

---

---

**21. What kind of help do you provide for members of your community?**

---

---

---



**22. In which ways could you use the help from members of your community for the teaching of your subject(s)**

---

---

---

---

---

[illegible]

**F.R. Moorad**

Appendix 13

**QUESTIONNAIRE FOR HEADMASTER/HEADMISTRESS**  
**(COMMUNITY JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS)**

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

**SECTION A    PERSONAL DATA**

1. Name of School \_\_\_\_\_
2. Town/Village where school is located \_\_\_\_\_
3. District \_\_\_\_\_
4. Nationality \_\_\_\_\_
5. Sex:            Male ☐ Female ☐
6. Age: \_\_\_\_\_
7. Qualifications: \_\_\_\_\_

Trained	Untrained (no formal teacher training)
Certificate/Diploma <input type="checkbox"/>	O-level/Matric <input type="checkbox"/>
Degree + Cert./Diploma <input type="checkbox"/>	Degree <input type="checkbox"/>
Other: (specify) _____	Other (specify) _____

8. **TEACHING EXPERIENCE**

Name of School	No. of Yrs. & Months taught		Post of Responsibility
i.			
ii.			
iii.			
iv.			
v.			
vi.			
vii.			
Total No. of Years Taught			

**SECTION B (SCHOOL-ADMINISTRATION)**

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

9. Total Enrolment:

No. of Boys	
No. of Girls	
TOTAL	

10. Does the school have:- (tick where appropriate)

Day students only	
Boarding students only	
Day & Boarding students	

11. Which of the following services does the school have as of January 1986.

Service	Yes	No	Special comments (e.g. if facility is not working)
Electricity			
Water Facility			
School Radio			
Film Projector			
Slide Projector			
Overhead Projector			
Library			
Desk for each student			
School Garden			
Staff Houses			

12. In 1986 a new policy was introduced whereby most students are enrolled at the secondary school nearest to the primary school they attended.  
What is the situation in your school for the different forms.  
Please fill in the following table:-

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

	No. of students from nearest primary schools	No. from other P/schools in catch- ment area	No. from P/schools outside catchment area	Boys	Total Girls
Form 1					
Form 2					
Form 3					

13. a) How would you classify your home place?

Town	
Rural town (District Capital	
Large Village (10,000+)	
Small Village (5-10 Thousand)	
Other (Specify):	

- b) District \_\_\_\_\_

- c) Would you prefer to Head a school in your home place?

Yes

☐

No

☐

- d) Why?

---



---



---



---



---

**SECTION C (SCHOOL FINANCING)**

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

14. Who are the major funding sources:- (please tick) (Where appropriate use numbers - 1 very important, 2 important 3 - least).

	Government	Community	Donor (state name)	Other (specify)
Building of Classrooms				
Building of Labs.				
Building of: Staff Houses				
Equipment for: Labs				
Sports				
Classrooms				
Maintenance				

15. Who takes the initiative to look for funds? \_\_\_\_\_

---

---

---

16. (a) Does Government have to approve all sources of funding?

Yes ☐ No ☐

- (b) If not, in which cases does Government have to approve?

---

---

---

---

**SECTION D      STAFF/SUPERVISION**

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

17.

	Male	Female
Expatriate Trained		
Expatriate Untrained		
Local Trained		
Local Untrained		
TOTAL STAFF		

18. How frequently do Education Officers visit your school:-

Never ☐      Once a month ☐      Once in 3 months ☐  
Once in 6 months ☐      Once a year ☐

19. What is the purpose of their visits?

---

---

---

---

20. Is your school visited by Teacher/Trainers/lecturers?

Yes ☐      No ☐

21. What is the purpose of their visits:-

To discuss with subject teachers ☐  
To advise teachers ☐  
To assess teachers ☐  
To assess student teachers ☐

22. By whom are the major decisions made on the following matters.  
(Where there are more than one; please indicate with a number:-  
1 - most responsible, 2 - partly responsible, 3 - least).

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

	Head of School	Head & Staff	District Council	Board of Govs.	The Commu- nity	Others (specify)
Rules & Regulations for the School						
Employment & Appointment of Trained Teachers						
Employment & Appointment of Untrained Teachers						
Appointment of Head of School						
Appointment of Deputy Head						
Building of Additional Classrooms						
Building of Additional Staff Houses						
Student Enrollment						
School Fees						
Choosing Which Subjects to Offer						

**SECTION E**     **(CURRICULUM)**

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

23. Has your school started to implement the new curriculum for C.J.S.S.

Yes ☐                      No ☐

24. (i) At which level of the curriculum development process were you consulted/involved?

(a) Planning process	<input type="checkbox"/>
(b) Reviewing draft proposals	<input type="checkbox"/>
(c) Implementation	<input type="checkbox"/>
(d) Evaluation	<input type="checkbox"/>
(e) Not consulted	<input type="checkbox"/>

(f) Other (Specify) \_\_\_\_\_

(ii) Please state the precise role you played.


25. In which capacity did you perform the above role:-

As Headmaster ☐                      As Head of Department ☐

As Subject Specialist ☐

26. Kindly list practical subjects offered (by form) in your school.  
(Tick where applicable)

Subject	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Boys only	Girls only	Boys& Girls



27. What are the problems (if any) the school faces in the teaching of the above subjects?

---

---

---

---

---

---

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

**SECTION E      COMMUNITY & SCHOOL**

28. What in your view is community schooling?

---

---

---

---

---

---

29. In what way is this different from the present arrangement/ situation of the C.J.S.S.?

---

---

---

---

---

---

30. The national commission on education (1977 ) indicated the following areas of cooperation between the school and community — How is this implemented/applicable to your school?

(a) Sharing School Facilities:

---

---

---

---

---

---

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

**(b) Providing Community Leadership**

---

---

---

---

---

---

**(c) Providing Social Services**

---

---

---

---

---

---

**31. In what way(s) does the community provide any service to the school?**

---

---

---

---

---

---

**32. Are you a member of any clubs/organizations in the community.  
(i.e. where you are living whilst working)**

Yes

☐

No

☐

**Which are they (e.g. P.T.A.; Church; etc.)**

---

---

Please DO  
Not write  
In This  
Margin

33. What kind of help do you provide to members of your community?

---

---

---

---

---

---

34. Does the school have a Parents Teachers Association?

a) Yes ☐ No ☐

b) How many meetings a year does it have? \_\_\_\_\_

Kindly list the activities of the P.T.A.:

---

---

---

---

---

35. Are there any other ways you feel that ought to be developed to bring the school and community closer?

---

---

---

---

---

---

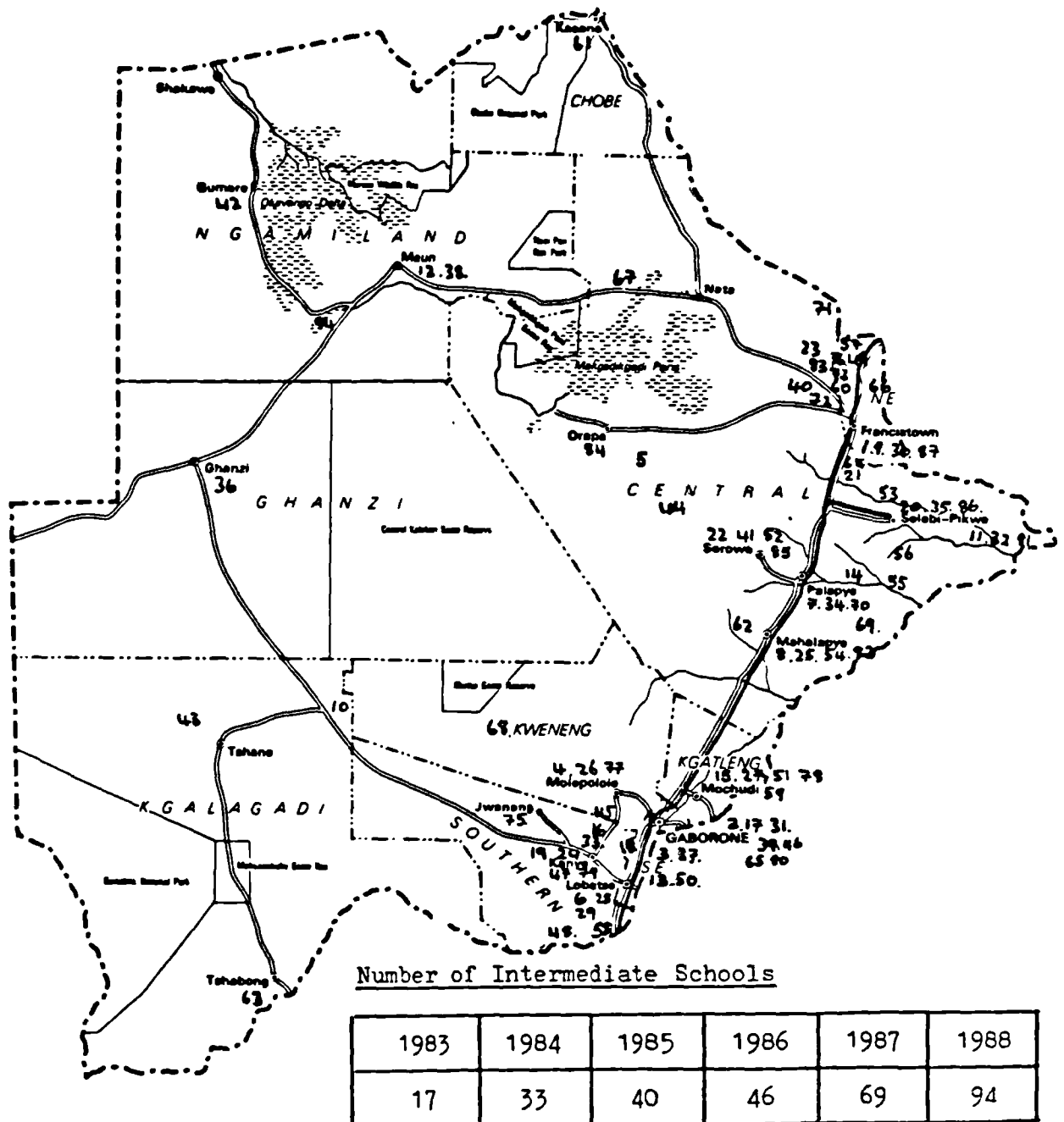
(Please use the reverse side if necessary and/or for additional comments)

Thank you for your kind cooperation.

F.R. Moorad

Appendix 14  
THE INTERMEDIATE NETWORK: COMMUNITY JUNIOR  
 SECONDARY SCHOOLS

# The Intermediate Network



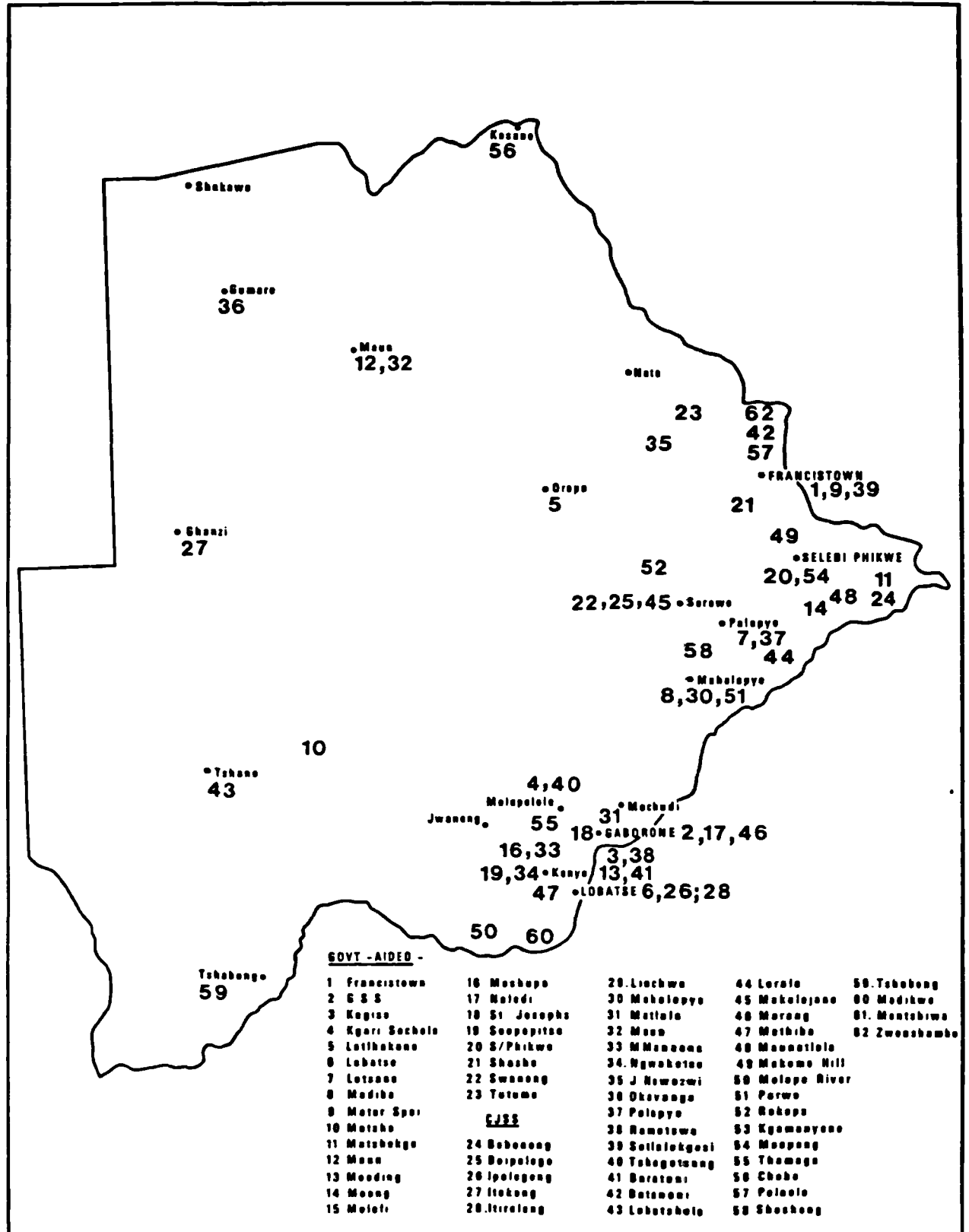
How the network is growing. By the early 1990s there will be nearly 150 Intermediate Schools.

"We are determined to do more for our rural areas-to build more schools....."

(the late Sir Seretse Khama, 1978).

Source: National Development Plan (1985).

# **Appendix 15** **LIST OF C.J.S.S. AND THEIR LOCATIONS**



Source: Ministry of Education, Gaborone

**Appendix 16(a)**  
**THE KGOTLA: TRADITIONAL MEETING PLACE**



**16(b)**



**PHUTADIKOBO SCHOOL**

**Note:** This was one of the first schools to be built through community initiatives. It is located on top of a hill overlooking the village. The buildings have been renovated and are now part of the Phutadikobo Museum at Mochudi, Kgatleng.

**Appendix 17**  
**C.J.S.S. - ISSUES IN THE EXPANSION PROGRAMME RELATING TO SCHOOL/COMMUNITY SIZE**

5. An important issue is school planning is: What is the minimum size of a town or village needed to support a two stream CJSS? An answer to this requires that we know the proportion of the population that goes to primary school and is eligible to go on to Junior Secondary. In Botswana, 14 yrs. is the age at which most pupils complete primary, and from the Census we know that 2.3% of the population is 14 years (This is very consistent in all areas of the country). The table below illustrated the relationship between town/village size and pupils eligible for C.J.S.S.:

**VILLAGE SIZE AND EST. FORM 1 PUPILS**

Village Population	14 Year Olds	Std. 7 Pupils (80%)	Form 1 Pupils (70% of Std. 7)
500	11	9	6
1000	23	18	12
1500	34	27	19
2000	45	36	25
3000	70	56	40
4000	92	74	52
5000	115	92	64
6000	138	110	77

6. In fact the number of pupils as Std. 7 for villages of these sizes is quite a bit higher than what is shown here. Indeed, for Botswana as a whole in 1981 (the year of the Census) there were 24,823 pupils in Std. 7 and only 20,979 14 year olds in the population. This discrepancy is partially explained by the large proportion of pupils who repeat Std. 7 (25% of the cohort in 1984/5). For planning purposes, it is more realistic to take the total figure for 14 year olds as indicative of those who would be eligible for Form 1. On this basis villages with a population of 3000+ persons can support a two stream CJSS>

An analysis of the estimated Form 1 roll from all villages of over 500 persons (1981 Census) in the country is given in Annex 1. That table projects the number of pupils eligible for Form 1 from all the towns in the country, shows the number of streams necessary to accommodate those pupils, and compares that with the planned streams for Phases 0 to III in the CJSS programme.

One of the striking things about this analysis is the number of villages that are too small to support a two stream CJSS, which includes all those villages of less than 500 people. Approximately half of the pupils in Botswana live in villages that are too small to support a two stream secondary school.

6. A second way of looking at the problem of school size and catchment area is by using measures of population density. Population densities in Botswana are given in the attached map for 1981. It is seen that, for 1981, the great majority of populated areas have a population density of less than 20 persons per sq. km.

If one assumes a circular catchment area for a CJSS, and a maximum radius of 10km (walking distance to a school), one can determine the population within that catchment area (Multiply the catchment area -  $\pi \times 10^2$  by the population density), and then calculate the maximum number of pupils who would be eligible for Form 1 entry. The results of this are shown in the table below.

**FORM 1 PUPILS FOR A 10KM WALKING DISTANCE  
(AREA = 315 SQ. KM.)**

Population Density/sq.km.	Total Population	14 Year Olds	Form 1 Pupils (70% of Std. 7)
50	15,708	285	200
20	6,283	114	80
10	3,142	57	40
5	1,571	28	20

This analysis confirms the earlier information, that for a large proportion of the population, it will not be possible to provide a CJSS within walking distance (eg. 10km). According to the table above, only areas with a population density of more than 20 persons per sq. km. will have enough students, **WITHIN THAT CATCHMENT AREA**, to support a two stream CJSS.

8. Of course, in almost every CJSS, there are greater or lesser numbers of pupils whose permanent home is beyond walking distance, but who move temporarily to the catchment area so that they can attend secondary school. What is clear is that as the CJSS system expands, greater numbers of pupils will have to move away from their permanent homes to attend school, EVEN WITH THE RAPID EXPANSION OF NEW SCHOOLS.

Source: Ash Hartwell, (1980) Ministry of Education, Gaborone.



## **Appendix 18**

### **PROPOSED TIMETABLE FOR DAY SCHOOLS**

1. **MONDAY "UNDERSTANDING EACH OTHER"** A day where focus is on language, both Setswana and English. Listening — Speaking — Talking with the body (use of eyes and hands) Radio. How the radio works, telling jokes, familiar stories, reading the newspapers, writing simple things letters and stories well know. — Input, clearly the teachers of Setswana and English — Science (Soundwaves and radio), skills of repairs and maintenance of radio, creativity, in story writing the important of language in culture and identity. Some Mathematics of the statistics of mother tongue speakers.
2. **TUESDAY "THE HOME". FOCUS HOME ECONOMICS**  
Building the home (skills), plumbing, water supply, electricity food, nutrition - health - hygiene - family structure - personal and traditional relationships, child birth and child rearing. Clothes materials. Here we see an input from home economics, Mathematics in building, many skills, science - nutrition health - hygiene. Social attitudes development education.
3. **WEDNESDAY "THE HERD OR THE FARM".** There might be regional variations required in this but the base would be Agricultural Studies. Cattle care and herding, growth of arable dryland culture, horticulture related both to marketing and the family diet, breeding of plants and cattle. Biological and Physical Science clearly have an input, Mathematics will be associated with marketing and profitability, many skills are involved.
4. **THURSDAY — BOTSWANA DAY —** Population — Economic activities, organisations, water supply and other essential needs e.g. energy and fuel. Botswana and its neighbours Botswana in Africa, Botswana in the world. Input from all disciplines. History, Geography, Development Studies, Languages, Mathematics, Science, but few skills.
5. **FRIDAY. "Enjoying Life"** Games, music, arts, making things for pleasure, reading for pleasure, telling stories, inventing things. All disciplines and skills apply in a variety of activities.

Source: Cammaerts, (1981)  
(Botswana Government, Gaborone).

**Appendix 19**  
**CONVENTIONAL JUNIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL TIMETABLE**

	1	2	3		4
	8.00-8.40	8.40-9.20	9.20-1.00	BREAK	10.00-10.40
Mon.	English	History	Setswana		Maths
Tue.	Setswana	English	Maths		Geography
Wed.	Maths	Science	Science		Maths
Thu.	History	English	Maths		Setswana
Fri.	History	Setswana	History		Rel. Stud.

	5	6	7		8
	10.40-11.20	11.20-12.00	14.00-14.40		14.40-15.20
Mon.	Geography	Science	Agriculture		Double Period
Tue.	History	Science	Dom. Science		Double Period
Wed.	English	Setswana	Woodwork		Double Period
Thu.	Geography	Science	Woodwork		Double Period
Fri.	English	English	Dev. Studies		Double Period

Source: Cammaerts (1981)

## **Contribute towards building school**

**MOGAPI:** Residents of Mogapi in the Central District have been urged to contribute more funds and labour towards the building of the community Junior Secondary school in the village.

The call was made by councillor for the area, Mrs Elizabeth Kedikilwe at a kgotla meeting here last Friday.

The people agreed to contribute the sum of P100 or a beast each.

Another meeting would be held to elect a board of governors whose duty would be to raise money for the school project.

During the meeting some farmers said they were not happy with the way the agricultural demonstrators go about measuring their fields under the Accelerated Rainfed Programme (ARAP). Several speakers said the officer was in the habit of harrassing them instead of helping them.

It was resolved that the headman should see the demonstrator to deliver complaints from the meeting.

Source: Botswana Daily News  
April 3rd 1987, Govt. Printer  
Gaborone, No. 65, p.2.

## **One-man one-beast campaign launched**

**By David Matshediso**

**SEROWE:** The residents of Tumasera in the Tswapong South have launched a one-man-one-beast campaign towards the building of a community junior secondary school in the village.

The campaign, which was initiated by the local Village Development Committee, has so far raised P963, one beast and 62 goats. People are to contribute P100 or a beast.

The Chairman of the VDC, Mr Onkemetse Taote told BOPA that it was hoped that more contributions would be made when people returned from the lands.

Other projects to be undertaken by the VDC include those which were not completed when Namola Leuba was suspended. He cited these projects as a drift fence, four rondavels and three pit latrines.

He added that the VDC Executive Committee was planning to persuade the residents to embark on a postal agency project as soon as the Central District Council approved their projects application forms under LG 17.

Source: Botswana Daily News  
20 th March 1987, Govt. Printer  
Gaborone, p.3.